

HIGHLIGHTS OF IMAM KHOMEINI'S SPEECHES

NOV 5, 80-APR 28, 81



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A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF IMAM KHOMEINI THE FOUNDER OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN

Imam Khomeini was born on the 20th of Jomad al-thani, 1281 A.H. (1902 A.D.), the day corresponding to the day of birth of Hazrat Fatima (ع), in the province of Khomein (formerly Kamareh). Imam Khomeini's father was Seyyid Mostafa, a well-known and beloved scholar of his day. He was killed by the agents of the tyrant Reza Khan (the father of the deposed Shah) and in this way reached martyrdom in the month of Zihajjeh, 1281 A.H. (1902 A.D.). He left three sons and three daughters. His youngest child was Imam Khomeini.

Imam Khomeini, at the age of 15, in 1296 A.H. (1917 A.D.), lost both of his guardians, his aunt and his mother. During his childhood, he had begun studying and learning to read and write at home. Then he went to a newly established school and undertook multiple exercises and the study of the sciences. Finally, before the end of his 15th year, he was proficient in Persian and he began to study introductory Islamic sciences from his older brother, Mr. Pasandideh.

After that, Imam Khomeini went to Arak and then to Qom where he studied with Shaykh Abdul Karim Hairi Yazdi. In 1301 A.H. (1922 A.D.), he had finished the highest level and participated in Mr. Hairi's classes. In 1316 A.H. (1937 A.D.), when Mr. Hairi died, Imam Khomeini was one of the leading and famous scholars and was known as a scholastic genius.

Imam Khomeini, in addition to his knowledge of jurisprudence, is a specialist in astronomy, philosophy, traditional philosophy and gnosis. His teacher in astronomy was Ali Akbar Yazdi and his teacher in gnosis, philosophy and traditional philosophy was Mohammad Ali Shahabadi.

Imam Khomeini has two sons and three daughters. His oldest son, Ayatullah Seyyid Mostafa Khomeini was martyred in 1357 A.H. (1978 A.D.) under mysterious circumstances by the tyrannical former regime.

Imam Khomeini has written numerous books on various subjects totaling over 30. Each one is uncomparable in its own right. During the oppressive regime of Reza Khan where no one even dared to breathe, he wrote a book entitled, *Kashf al-asrar* (Uncovering of Secrets). Written in an uncompromising, clear style, it characterizes all of Imam Khomeini's pronouncements. He strongly condemned Reza Khan's regime which openly laid its dependence upon and subservience to foreign powers, at that time, Britain. He saw clearly that the hostility of the Pahlavi regime to Islam was not the mere desires of a dictator but rather they were part of a comprehensive plan to eliminate Islam as a social and political force throughout the Islamic world. This plan was conceived by the major centers of imperialism and entrusted to the various local agents of imperialism like Reza Khan.

Imam Khomeini in that book, wrote, "All the orders issued by the dictatorial regime of the bandit Reza Khan have no value at all. The laws passed by his Parliament must be scrapped and burned. All the idiotic words that have proceeded from the brain of that illiterate soldier are rotten and it is only the law of God that will remain and resist the ravages of time." These words, totally uncompromising, were marked by a radical insight into the realities of politics.

In the time which Ayatullah Borujerdi was the major religious figure in Qom, Ayatullah Khomeini held a position of prominence. Throughout this time, he tried to induce a measure of

political realism and commitment in Ayatullah Borujerdi. He built up a large number of followers among the younger religious leaders in Qom and elsewhere who later came to form part of the directive force of the Revolution.

Ayatullah Khomeini's emergence to prominence began in the years following the overthrow of Mossadeq through a CIA directed coup d'etat. In 1963, the Shah inaugurated what became known in the western press and, of course, in the local propagandic machinery, as the White Revolution. It has been said that the only white thing about it was that it was conceived in the White House. It was certainly not white in the sense that it was bloodless, and it was hardly a revolution. Rather, it was an attempt to prevent the revolution and make it impossible.

The so-called White Revolution consisted of a package of measures allegedly designed to reform Iranian society to promote the welfare of the peasantry and the industrial workers and to 'emancipate' the women. Among the various measures included in it, there were two that assumed particular prominence in the propaganda of the Shah's regime and his foreign supporters: land reform and women's rights. It may be appropriate to dwell a little on the nature of these two measures before continuing with a recount of Imam Khomeini's struggles against dictatorship and tyranny.

The slogan of land reform in Iran was the disguise for the total disruption of the agrarian economy in a manner designed to assure maximum profit for the royal family, a certain oligarchy tied to the royal family and foreign agri-business interests, including companies headquartered in the United States, Europe and above all, Israel. It is true that a certain amount of property was distributed among the peasantry, but the land that was distributed was of a barely cultivatable nature and moreover, it was not distributed free of charge; it was distributed against monetary payments that had to be made to banks controlled by the royal family. Moreover, a large number of lands were totally excluded from the scope of the law and were passed instead either to the direct ownership of the royal family, under the title of the Pahlavi Foundation, which was the cover for the financial operations of the royal family, or certain foreign agri-business interests that used the agrarian land of Iran for the cultivation of certain crops that are not consumed in Iran but were destined for the foreign market. For example, wide areas of Iran were given over to the cultivation of asparagus, an item totally missing from the Iranian diet. At the same time, Iranian produced butter became increasingly unavailable, so that in a Tehran supermarket you could find only Danish butter.

This destruction of the agrarian economy caused massive depopulation of the countryside and the coming to the cities of peasants forced to seek work there. The former landowning class were transformed into speculators on urban real estate and import-export merchants, and in pure financial terms, they gained from the transformation rather than losing from it.

And as for women's rights, this was a measure designed for foreign consumption more than for domestic purposes, since the Shah's foreign advisers were well aware of the traditional western prejudices concerning Islamic attitudes towards women and thought that this was an infallible way of making the Shah appear an enlightened and benevolent person, acting on behalf of the poor oppressed women of Moslem Iran. In point of fact there has taken place a great transformation in the political-social role of Iranian women over the past 25 years in Iran, 15 years, at least, but the

direction it has taken is against the regime. Iranian women found their emancipation not through any measures decreed by the regime. but, on the contrary, in struggling against the regime, in suffering abuse, torture, imprisonment and martyrdom at the hands of the regime.

In the declarations of Ayatullah Khomeini made from March 1963 onwards against the Shah's regime and his attempt to deceive Iranian opinion with the so-called White Revolution, we do not find consistent mention of land reform and women's rights. It is a remarkable thing that right down to last year, the American and British press referred to these so-called conservative, reactionary, fanatical Moslems in Iran who were struggling against the Shah because of their opposition to land reform and their desire to get back what was quaintly termed 'the church lands' and because they wanted all women to be shrouded from head to foot again. This total absurdity has no basis, not only for the Revolution of the past year, but for the preceding fifteen years as well.

In the earliest declarations of Ayatullah Khomeini, made in 1963, declarations which have been preserved verbatim and are available to anyone who can read Persian, he concentrates by contrast on a number of other themes. The first is the continued violation by the Shah of the Iranian constitution and his violation of the oath that he took upon acceding to the throne to preserve and to protect Islam. Secondly, he attacks the Shah's subordination to foreign powers, mentioning primarily the United States and, following very closely upon that, Israel.

The question of Israel with respect to the Islamic Revolution is of great importance. It has not been realized, because of the embargo on news in the so-called free press of the west, that Israel has been second only to the United States as one of the major props of the Pahlavi dictatorship. It was well known in Iran that there were two items that were totally excluded from any form of public comment or criticism. It was a well-known rule of SAVAK, the security police established by the United States for the Shah, that there were two items that had to be totally excluded from public comment and criticism. One was the royal family and the other was Israel. It is interesting that even the United States, in a certain form and under certain pretexts, might be subjected to criticism, but even the name of Israel had not to be mentioned.

Ayatullah Khomeini, with his characteristic refusal to compromise, broke this rule in 1963 and pointed out the very close relationship on the military, political, intelligence and economic planes between the Pahlavi regime and Israel. Of course, in press accounts of the western world in 1963, you would find not a word on this aspect of the matter.

After one of the talks that Ayatullah Khomeini was giving at his school in Qom in March 1963, an attack took place upon the school by paratroopers and members of the security police, resulting in the death of a number of people and the arrest of Ayatullah Khomeini. After a period of detention, he was released but, far from being intimidated by his imprisonment, he increased the intensity and frequency of his attacks on the government, so that by June of that year, which corresponded to the important

month of Moharram, the nationwide campaign of enlightenment of public opinion by the religious leaders under the leadership of Ayatullah Khomeini had come into being. Throughout these declarations he continued to attack the subordination of the Shah to foreign powers, particularly the United States and Israel, and his violation of the Iranian constitution and of Islam.

One particular topic that appears to have been the catalyst for the uprising of June 1963 was the granting to Americans in Iran — American advisers, military personnel and their dependants — of total exemption from Iranian jurisdiction, in such a way that, as Ayatullah Khomeini put it, were the dog of an American soldier to bite the Shah himself, the Shah would have no legal recourse. This matter, together with the contracting of a \$200 million loan from the United States for the purchase of military equipment, supplied a clear illustration of the subservience of the Shah's regime to foreign powers. Ayatullah Khomeini clearly said that the vote of the Majlis which had approved these and similar measures was illegitimate and contrary to the Qoran. He issued an appeal to the Iranian army to rise up and overthrow the regime and to the people also that they should no longer tolerate a tyranny that was working towards the total enslavement of Iran.

On the 15th of Khordad (June 5, 1963), a vast uprising took place in numerous Iranian cities, which was brutally repressed by the use of force. Not for the first time in the Shah's career, he gave the orders to his security police and to the troops to shoot to kill. It has been estimated that on this day and in the events of subsequent days, a minimum of 15,000 people were killed.

Ayatullah Khomeini was arrested again and then after a short period sent into exile in Bursa in Turkey. Interestingly enough, in violation of Turkish law, he was kept under close surveillance in a house guarded by members of the Iranian security police. The Prime Minister of Turkey at the time was a certain Suleyman Demirel, who is a well-known freemason.

In October 1965, Ayatullah Khomeini was enabled to leave his place of exile in Turkey to go to a more congenial environment, that of Najaf, one of the cities in Iraq that have traditionally been a center not only for the cultivation of Shi'ite learning but of refuge for Iranian religious leaders. This was the case, for example, in the 19th century and early 20th century when a number of important religious leaders supported the constitutional revolution or, before that, the tobacco boycott movement. They issued their directives from the relative security of the atabat, which were outside Iran.

On this occasion, however, Ayatullah Khomeini by no means found an untroubled refuge there. It needs to be pointed out very plainly and strongly that, despite what was said in the western press for many years, the presence of Ayatullah Khomeini in Iraq in no way constituted any form of alliance, however slight, between himself and the Ba'athist regime in that country. He was, on the contrary, subject to repeated harassment by the Ba'athists, in conjunction with the general repression enacted by the regime in Iraq, which is continuing.

From Najaf, Ayatullah Khomeini continued periodically to issue his declarations on Iranian affairs. The Shah's hope that by exiling him from the country he would also put an end to his influence and popularity was decisively frustrated. It has been said that Ayatullah Khomeini emerged to prominence in the course of the Revolution as the result of a vacuum, because there was no viable alternative in sight, but this judgement results from ignorance of the gradual development of the role of Ayatullah Khomeini

during his more than 14 years in exile. Throughout his years in Najaf, he by no means remained silent. We find him, on the contrary, issuing a wide variety of proclamations on Iranian affairs, all of which penetrated the country, were circulated and had a great effect on the formation of Iranian public opinion.

For example, in April 1967, Ayatullah Khomeini sent an open letter to the Prime Minister of Iran at that time, Amir Abbas Hoveyda, in which he denounced Hoveyda and the Shah for their continued violation both of Islam and of the constitution. He went through a comprehensive survey of all the government policies, criticising them one by one, warning Hoveyda that one day he would be held responsible. One may imagine the contemptuous disbelief with which Hoveyda received this letter from an exile whose followers had been slaughtered in the streets, a letter addressed to the Prime Minister at the head of one of the major repressive apparatuses in the modern world. Yet it is one of the remarkable things about Ayatullah Khomeini which contributes to the effectiveness of his leadership that every word he has said is seriously meant. This warning, given as far back as April 1967, bore its fruit with the execution of Hoveyda by the Islamic Revolutionary Court in 1979, in the aftermath of the Revolution.

Another example of the declarations of Ayatullah Khomeini during his years in exile we can draw from a series of events in May, 1970, when a consortium of American investors met in Tehran to discuss ways for the more effective penetration and exploitation of the Iranian economy. On this occasion, one of the followers of Ayatullah Khomeini, Ayatullah Saidi, gave a declaration in his mosque in Tehran denouncing this conference and calling upon the Iranian people to rise up and protest against it. He was arrested and tortured to death by SAVAK, the Shah's security people and Ayatullah Khomeini issued a proclamation calling on the people to renew their struggle against the Pahlavi regime.

Later, we find Ayatullah Khomeini denouncing the idiotic and wasteful expenditures of the regime for the so-called celebration of 2,500 years of monarchy, a celebration conceived and planned by certain Israeli advisers of the regime. He later also condemned the inauguration of a one-party system in Iran, saying that whoever joined this party voluntarily, without pressure, was in effect a traitor to both the nation and Islam. He also issued many proclamations on the general state of Islam and in particular on the role of Israel.

It is interesting to note that on two occasions, once in 1971 and once during the Revolution, Ayatullah Khomeini also issued two appeals to the Moslem world in general, appeals that were translated into various languages and distributed during the Hajj. In both these declarations he called for solidarity among the Moslems and collaboration for the solution of their common problems.

As for the role of Ayatullah Khomeini in the Revolution itself, this is direct and immediate in the sense that the opening events of the Revolution are directly concerned with his person. The government-controlled press in January 1978 published an article insulting Ayatullah Khomeini in abusive and obscene terms. That aroused an immediate response of anger in the city of Qom. After the first uprising in Qom, which was suppressed with heavy loss of life, a series of demonstrations and protests unfurled across Iran with ever increasing tempo, until in December of last year when probably the greatest demonstrations not merely in Iranian history but of modern history in general, took place, forcing the exile of the Shah and paving the way for the ultimate

triumph of the Revolution.

Ayatullah Khomeini increased the tempo of his declarations as the movement picked up speed within Iran. In October of last year he was expelled from Iraq as a result of an agreement between the Shah's regime and the Ba'athist regime. It is interesting to note that Ayatullah Khomeini considered a number of possible alternatives. He would have preferred to take up residence in a Moslem country but, as he has said publicly, not one Moslem country offered him the possibility of a residence that would be both safe and permit him to continue his activity. This simple fact is an eloquent commentary on the nature of the regimes that rule the different Moslem countries today.

Like so many of the stratagems of the former Iranian regime, this one also turned against it in its ultimate result, because, faced with the impossibility of finding refuge in any other Moslem country after Iraq, Ayatullah Khomeini proceeded to Paris, where he became infinitely more accessible to Iranians from America, Europe and Iran itself. He also became immediately accessible to the world press, not that the world press, of course, was in any way inclined or even intellectually and mentally equipped to reflect the true message and aspirations of Ayatullah Khomeini. Nonetheless, from Paris his communications with Iran were infinitely easier and his visibility was far greater than had been the case in Najaf.

The study of the proclamations of Ayatullah Khomeini during the year of the Revolution will have to await another time. But it could be said that one sees throughout the year, as the Revolution reaches new peaks, a certain evolutionary style of his declarations. For example, if one looks at the declaration he issued on the eve of Moharram in 1399 A.H. (1979 A.D.), one sees a great eloquence and forcefulness of expression that one would say from a purely literary point of view has few parallels in contemporary Iranian expression. By the time he returned to Iran from exile at the beginning of February, 1979, Ayatullah Khomeini, with no material resources, without the construction of a political party, without the waging of a guerilla war, without the support of a single foreign power, had established himself as the undisputed leader of a major revolutionary movement.

With the death of Imam Khomeini's son, Haji Mostafa Khomeini and his martyrdom at the hands of Iranians in Iraq and the insult in the newspaper against Imam Khomeini and following the killing of the religious students in Qom, then Tabriz and other cities in 1356 A.H. (1978 A.D.), and the massacre of the 17th of Shahrivar (September 8, 1979), and the extension of his struggle until the 22nd of Bahman of that year (February 11th, 1979), with over 60,000 people maimed and 100,000 people martyred, the great Islamic Revolution of Iran, destroyed the regime of the despotic Shah under the leadership of Imam Khomeini and the long felt wish of the Iranian people to have a healthy government based on the Qoran and Islam was realized.

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IMAM ADDRESSES VISITING CLERGY

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, received a group of leading Iranian clerics at his resident in Tehran on November 5, 1980. The following is the text of the Imam's speech to the visiting clergy:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I wish to thank you all gentlemen for having come to this humble place in this cold weather, and I pray to God, the Most High, for your good health and well being.

I should like to mention a point; that we should learn something from the practice of the experts of the big powers. They have found their way into these countries since perhaps more than 300 years ago. They have studied everything in these countries and especially the things which have been of more interest and concern to them, such as Iran. They have already studied about everything we have, be it underground resources, or resources on the earth's surface, and other aspects important to a country including its economy, culture and the like. The scope of their studies is much wider than our own. In the old days when such modern transportation vehicles did not exist, they would come to Iran by whatever means they could and would travel on camel and with caravans to the various parts of the country and would take photographs of any place which they suspected was rich in resources. They thus discovered whatsoever we had in our country. They had a better idea of whatever mineral resources we have. Likewise they had made extensive studies in cultural and political affairs.

Their studies on the culture and customs of our tribesmen is also superior to our own. They have made substantial studies on our culture, our urban life-style, our opinions and our inclinations. We should understand that whatever studies they have made here, they have done only for their personal purposes and it is our duty to find out their motives behind such studies here. Whatever they did here they did for their own exclusive benefit. We must find out what they regarded to be against their interests here, what groups they regarded as being against their ultimate ends here and what groups in Iran they considered to be a potential threat to their domination.

Looking back in retrospect I recall the story behind the coming to power of Reza Khan (father of the ex-Shah) by the aid of the British agents here and later the story of Mohammad Reza (the ex-Shah) and everything which happened here during their lives. They were both wicked, although this second one (the ex-Shah) proved to be more wicked because he had been imposed on the Iranian nation by the Allied Forces, and this is a fact to which Mohammad Reza confessed in one of his books, which perhaps is rather rare today. But, at any rate, he said in the original first edition of his book that "they (the Allied Forces) found it advisable to put me in power here."

Now let us see against which groups of our people the foreign powers campaigned ever since that time until this fellow (the ex-Shah) left the country, and let us see with which groups they have come to compromise.

It is not hidden from any of us that Reza Khan was an illiterate boor, and that the foreign powers had realised that he was a dominating and daring man, and one with a great potential. And later the British government said in an announcement over Radio Delhi that it had brought Reza Khan to power in Iran and that it had expelled him because he had

acted against their will, perhaps by establishing contact with the Germans.

Well, they (the British) had chosen Reza Khan after substantial studies and they had found out that he was a swaggerer with very little political insight and that he could make a good puppet for their show. With a coup d'etat they brought him to power and arrested many people from all walks of life. In the beginning he acted precisely in keeping with a policy which was their own dictation to him. He started out as a hypocrite. In the beginning he would regularly attend public sessions of 'rowzeh-khani' (ceremonial mourning for the martyrs of Kerbala), and even in many occasions he hosted such ceremonies. He would go bare-footed to many religious centers in Tehran. He would speak very kindly to common people on the streets until he found a firm footing for himself.

Let us see what he did to the people when he acquired increased power. Let us see with what groups of the people he found himself to be loggerheads and what programmes he opposed.

Many people today, remember that in the beginning he started a campaign against the clergy on the pretext that he was purging them and purifying religion. He brought a group of so-called choice people to the Feyziyyeh Theological School (in Qom) to 'examine' the students and separate the more spiritually pure and the more chaste students from the rest. He said he wanted to 'defrock' those he decided did not deserve the clerical garb. I recalled the late Reverend Feyz telling me in those days that he was optimistic about the plan because the government administrators had said that they intended to 'separate' the good from the bad. I said to him that he was right, they meant to separate the good from the bad, but with the idea of doing away with 'good.' The course of later developments only proved my prediction.

Sometime later, they (Reza Khan's government) came out with just another plot for our destruction; they said that the nation should have a uniform attire. They had turbans removed from the heads of the clergymen and undertook more cultural destruction which had been unprecedented in the whole history.

The story had wide historical dimensions, and perhaps there are now people who remember well and who are now recording it in their chronicles. At the same time they banned the annual mourning ceremonies (for the martyrs at Kerbala) throughout the country. There was not one public mourning ceremony for the martyrs of our religion.

As I look back, I recall a respectable gentleman having formed 'rowzeh' in his own residence at night, and if I remember correctly I think they came to his place and prevented him from holding those sessions. They attacked both the clergymen and preachers and pulled their turbans off their heads. I recall one of the agents of them who was committing acts of sabotage in Qom said that in the whole of the country only a total of six clergymen would be permitted to wear turbans, but even this was not true. If they could they would not have let any single clergyman wear a turban.

Then they brought up the issue of 'unveiling' the women which they carried out with such disgrace. They did it because they had found out that our women adhered to the principles of Islam and meant to comply with it. They (the government of Reza Khan) even urged the clergymen to attend special meetings along with their wives. I recall once (during the days of the ex-Shah's father) a government official went to the late Reverend Kashani and conveyed him the order of the then government for attending a gathering of the pseudo-elites. He said in response that it was none of their business. The man was stunned by the bold response of the Ayatollah and then said by 'them' he meant the

government, and the Ayatollah said that he, too, meant that it was not the business of the government. The government (of the father of the ex-Shah) meant to resort to all types of intimidation to promote its own ends. But nevertheless they did not do anything against the Ayatollah. But they continued contacting other clergymen urging them to attend the gatherings of the 'higher' social class and to conform. For promoting their aims they had launched massive propaganda of all types. They had mobilised newspapers, writers, and speakers for the execution of their aims, and in the beginning they even succeeded in accomplishing their aims.

I recall at that time, the late Reverend Sheikh Abbas Tehrani relating this incident to me that he was coming to Tehran from Arak, or going to Arak from Tehran maybe, and that he wanted to hire a car, but the driver had told him that he had taken an oath against giving rides to two categories of people: first, the prostitutes, and second the clergymen. You can remember, I am sure, the whole literature which was being published day-in and day-out against the clergymen by the writers and poets of that time. They continued their campaign against the clergymen but rather the whole of Islam as a religion.

They realised that as long as people had faith in Islam, they could not establish their domination here. Therefore they always studied about the people and their culture here to find out what helped to promote Islam here so that they could annihilate it and thereby suppress Islam. We should always bear these subtleties in our minds. We should not let ourselves believe that the problems of Islam are already finished or that our cultural problems have been already taken care of.

You should not over concern yourselves over such issues as the aggression against Iran by Iraq, for there is nothing they can do. But you 'should' fear the repetition of the drama which they performed before the Islamic Revolution at the time of Reza Khan and Mohammad Reza (ex-Shah). Even then they had realised that as long as Islam and Islamic faith prevails in Iran they could not reap the profits they looked to. They have seen what a nation of 35 million Moslems has done and are therefore worried about the aggregate potential of about one billion of the world's Moslems. The designs they have for us today, are more complicated and more intricately conceived. We should open our eyes and ears more than we did before. Even today you can see that there were as though invisible hands engaged in the task of impairing the public's view of our clergy. Even now you see a group of people trying to ruin the minds of the people about the small group of our clergy who are working for the nation with maximum sincerity. Even now you can feel symptoms of complaints about what they call 'the rule of the clergy' in Iran. This is a repetition of the same old designs. In the past they did it gradually and today they seem to be proceeding along much the same strategy. In those days they criticised preachers and clergymen one by one; they reflected their arguments in the papers of those days; then they organised meetings and thereby finally achieved their ends.

A practice which they pinpointed as being weird and vain among us was the forming of mourning ceremonies in commemoration of the martyrs of Kerbala. They called us 'a nation of weepers,' and thereafter ordered the people against holding or participating in those ceremonies.

Now we should ask ourselves exactly what it was that they (father of the ex-Shah and the British government) wanted to do away with. Was it really turbans which worried them or was it the thing which the mullahs' turbans represented? Was it the congregation for mourning the martyrdom of Imam Hossein and his men in Kerbala which worried them

or was it something more significant than what this outward religious custom represented?

They had realised that the turban-wearing mullahs were capable of doing things which were exactly against their own ends here and that the people's congregations for the mourning of Imam Hossein was capable of instilling a spirit in the masses which might adversely affect their interest here.

Therefore the ceremonious gathering of Moslems for mourning the martyrdom of Imam Hossein is not aimed at rousing people to 'weeping.' For it has much wider dimensions. It is a political issue. With their divine insight our religious leaders aimed at consolidating the Moslem world through the various means. There are things which are compulsory on Moslems and things which Moslems are advised to conform with, and many of these orders have been issued only with an eye to consolidate Moslems.

If the governments in power would realise that their freedom from the bondage of the big powers will be better for them than living in dishonor, they would cease to concede to the big powers and would join their own people. If they realised this and performed the Hajj in its true sense and if they performed their pilgrimage to the Holy Mecca and discussed together and brought up their problems for the information and attention of other Moslem countries they would now have been in much better shape.

For giving people a more solid insight into the contemporary affairs, you should try your best to persuade more and more of our youth to go to the mosques habitually; for as you know the mosques are not meant to be for a group of elderly people only but rather for the whole of our communities. They should attend the mosques regularly and the more discernible clergymen should give them insight about contemporary issues. Today we need people gathering for ta'ziyeh (mourning the martyrdom of Imam Hossein) more than we needed ever before. There might be some people trying to dissuade others from participating in such ceremonies nowadays arguing that it would be benefitting more to allocate the expenses for such ceremonies to the people injured in the war. It is true that helping the injured people of the war is a divine responsibility but equally so is our participation in mourning ceremonies in the month of Moharram. The reasoning of those who say that today we need not 'weep' in the religious mourning ceremonies is as well-founded as saying that we need not perform our prayers because we have promoted a revolution. The people promoted a revolution not to do away with the orders of Islam but rather to revive and uplift them.

Among the powers of Islam is its capability for consolidating Moslems against their enemies. The war (with Iraq) brought us dignity as much as it brought Saddam Hossein disgrace. Naturally it has also brought damages to us. Our brothers and sisters have incurred losses in the various cities of Khuzestan including Abadan, Dhorramshahr and Dezful. There are a great many families who have lost their bread-winners, and many have emigrated to other cities. Therefore you should tell people that these war refugees are their own brothers and sisters and as such should assume the guardianship of any of the minors whom have lost their parents in the war.

The people should not worry about any impending scarcity of provision here. But you should do your best to ensure that our peculiar problems are tackled based on Islamic principles. There are people who pick up a verse from the Holy Qur'an and try to garb it in a mould befitting their own personal ideologies, without having the slightest knowledge about the Holy Qur'an or Islam. We who do not have the know-how about the technicalities of the war should not try to criticise our soldiers

or say that they have been better advised to this and that in the war front. It is as though you were sitting at the corner of the arena. There are lots of things which the audience can say by way of criticism, but I urge you to keep quiet and leave the task of fighting to the men of war.

You people insisted that you wanted the establishment of an Islamic Republic here and you succeeded in that despite the powers which were against you. But now you should not lose your perseverance just because something of a war has happened in some part of your country. You should not think that there is no way for us other than obtaining our needs from the foreign countries. You should be determined to produce everything at home. Take Japan as a vivid example of a country which used to be dependent on the foreign countries for a lot of her needs but which is now a major exporter even to the United States. Take India as another example which used to be dependent in the past but which has become self-sufficient now.

Your intellectual capabilities are by no means inferior to others, but you should be conscious and make an effort to improve your capability for responding to your needs at home. Our agricultural production should increase several times than before, and the government should provide all necessary aids to this end. And I hope in this coming year our agricultural production will increase to a level which might make agricultural imports unnecessary, and I hope our factories, too, will increase production, believing in the principle that the task of putting our factories back to work is the people's and none else.

I hope you will succeed in fulfilling all these tasks and that you will fear nothing; for we managed to expell the big powers from here and there is no one person capable of expelling you from here.

IMAM ADDRESSES 200 PAKISTANI MILITARY OFFICERS RETURNING FROM HAJJ

On November 5, 1980, the Leader of the Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran addressed a crowd of 200 Pakistani military officers who were paying their respects on their way home from their completing the observance of the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca this year. The following is the translation of his speech:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I thank you gentlemen for your presence here and pray that your pilgrimage and that of other respectable Hajis will be accepted by God. I tell you that you have achieved a succes in carrying out the pilgrimage to the House of God which God Almighty has fixed as a centre for pilgrimage. This is the first and foremost House that God has set as the object of pilgrimage for all people and has said: "Most surely the first house appointed for men is the one at Mecca, blessed and a guidance for all nations." (Surah al-Baqareh, Verse 95)

It is a fact that God, the Holy, the Most High, has asked all the world's people to accept Islam and has appointed this House (Kaaba) for all the people of the world from the time of Creation until the Last Day. This is the House of the people (al Bait an Nas); not for private

persons or special groups or tribes. This is not a House for any one person, or tribe or any one group of people; all people throughout the East and the West who are Moslem should gather at this House and do Pilgrimage to this Holy House. The intellectuals and scholars of Islam, from the beginning of Islam until now, have tried to get all the Moslems to come together and to become united as of one heart and mind. And it is the duty of all non-Moslems, wherever Moslems can be found, to try to understand what Islam is. This is what God, the Holy, the Most High, has recommended in the Gracious Qur'an and what the Holy Prophet (may the peace of God be upon him and his family) has also recommended, and also what the Moslems themselves have recommended. The enlightened religious scholars of Islam have endorsed this and have tried to call all Moslems to unity and oneness under the banner of Islam.

But, unfortunately, some deviated elements, some elements who do not believe in Islam although they profess it, are trying to reduce Islam to Arabism. The reports reaching us from the news agencies two days ago indicate that Saddam Hossein, in his illegitimate Parliament, has delivered various speeches full of nonsense. In some of them he said that "Persians are not Moslems because the Qur'an is in Arabic, because the Prophet was an Arab, and because Islam is for the Arabs." Such is the logic of this deluded man, who himself is devoid of Islam, and of whom God, the Holy, the Most High has said, "The Arabs of the desert are the worst in unbelief and hypocrisy and most disposed not to know the limits of what God has revealed to His Apostle. And God is the Knowing, the Wise." (Surah al-Tauba, Verse 97) Such people deserve not to know God and His decrees! In the thinking of this man - who does not believe in Islam - you gentlemen here, who have had the honor to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, you indeed are not Moslem! And all the Moslems in the West and East of the globe are also not Moslem!...Persians are not Moslem!...Turks are not Moslem!...Baluchis are not Moslems!...Pakistanis are not Moslems!...Indian Moslems are not Moslems!...Indonesians are not Moslems!...Only Arabs are Moslems!...that is, Arabs like Aflaq and Arabs like Saddam!...Arabs like the Ba'athist Party! Such is the logic of a man who is devoid of Islam, devoid of the Qur'an. It is an established fact that the Prophet of Islam is the last of the Prophets and has been sent for all the human beings in the West and the East of the Earth. The Gracious Qur'an says that Islam belongs to all the tribes and that whoever meets it should believe in it. And there is a narration from the Holy Messenger which reads: "Islam is for all."

And this man (Saddam), even if we counted him as having previously been a Moslem - itself a faulty assumption to begin with - by this single statement has placed himself outside of Islam, because he spoke against the Moslems and spoke against the Gracious Qur'an and spoke against the Holy Messenger. For many long years now we have been trying to make all the Moslems united, to be of one mind because all the problems which the Moslems suffered from previously stemmed from the foreign powers, who wanted to exploit the Moslems, who coveted their resources, and who seek to dominate the government of the Moslems, who always sought, along with their agents, to divide the Moslems. This dirty statement is the means by which they want to set Arabs on one side and all the other Moslems on the other. As they wanted to say, "Only Arabs are Moslems! Pakistanis are not Moslems!...and Iranians are not Moslems!...Arabs are definitely the only true Moslems!" And he further said in another part of his speech that all others should accept the superiority of the Arabs! This too, is against Islam and against the instruction of the Qur'an for the Qur'an has set piety (taqwa) as the

sole criterion of being a good Moslem. Saddam has set up Arabism as the criterion for being Moslem. And by Arabism we mean what people like Aflaq and Saddam believe in...which is against Islam and this is how the superpowers would like to divide the Moslems among themselves and to separate the Arabs and non-Arabs...setting one side apart as "Arabs" and the other side as "Ajam" and they even want to sow division among the different Arab tribes. And they even want to sow division among the Ajami Moslems.

They are agents, just as Mohammad Reza was an agent, who wish to sow discord among the Moslems. Those who are creating this problem are serving the filthy aims of the foreign powers who would like to divide the Moslems. The Moslems should be of one heart and mind as has been said in the Qur'an: "If a group of Moslems rises against another group and oppresses them, then it is incumbent on all Moslems to rise against the oppressors." (Surah Anfal, Verse 46)

This will be even more necessary when non-Moslems rise against the Moslems, who certainly will deserve our support. It is necessary for all the Moslems to rise against the oppressor. If a group of blasphemers attack an Islamic country it is the duty of all Moslems to attack the oppressors to eradicate them from the world.

What has happened to all these Moslems, those who are aware of the situation in this region? They know that Saddam - this oppressor - without prior warning attacked Iran from sea, air and land and has occupied the cities of Iran. Thanks be to God that this attack has so depleted Saddam's borders that it will take them years to be made up for. This underhanded attack will overwhelm Iraq and will waste the resources which should have been used for furthering Islam. We have not been the initiators of this war, and we will never do so in the future, but should anyone aggress against us, we will smash him in the mouth. If we were the villains we would have occupied every one of their villages which would have forced them to try to push us back. Saddam, who has claimed in his speech, that he tried to discuss and come to an understanding with us, but that we did not accept his suggestion, and who said that the government of Iran destroyed their border lookouts, is talking nonsense. The government of Iran, before the Iraqi attack did not trespass even one span of their country, and will never do this. But in any case they attacked Iran and killed our people with their artillery and ground-to-ground missiles and destroyed residential areas, killing women and children, and did every vicious deed. Therefore it is incumbent on all Moslems and all human beings, to defend themselves and we defended ourselves and Islam according to the decrees of God.

Saddam is a man who follows Aflaq's philosophy. Their line of thinking is against Islam, and they think Islam is against their Party. They are enemies of Islam. He who insults Hossein ibn Ali and massacres the pilgrims visiting Hossein ibn Ali in groups or who has imprisoned them is the same man who shelled the holy tomb of Hazrat Amir. I saw myself the marks of the bullets, which destroyed a part of the walls there. They are people who imprisoned the great scholars of Islam, be they Sunni or Shia, and have martyred them. They have not so much as sensed what Islam is, and yet they claim to be Moslems. They are of those Arabs of whom God, the Holy, the Most High, has said that they know nothing of Islam or what relates to Islam.

What has happened to the Moslems that they fail to react to all this? Why don't they concern themselves with the killing of children, youngsters, women and men who were massacred in complete disregard of international principles and rules of war - attacking residential areas? Why are the Moslems indifferent to this and why are they silent? God,

the Holy, the Most High, has instructed that they should fight against such persons. If they are not fighting against them, they should at least speak out against them rather than remain quiet. Why are the radios of the Muslims countries silent? And why are the Muslims indifferent to this fact? If, God forbid, Iran is defeated it will mean Islam will be defeated. Why do they not realize that the superpowers are afraid of Islam and that their antagonism towards Iran is because they are afraid Islam will grow in other countries? And what has happened in Iran is apt to happen elsewhere as well. What has happened to the Muslims, concerning this issue pertaining to Islam and the honor of the Muslims that they look on quietly?

We don't need military assistance. We will settle our accounts with them but it is regrettable the Muslims are heedless to Islamic issues. They are inattentive to the Gracious Qur'an. And they do not act according to the canons of the Qur'an which says that if a group, even one which is Muslim, attacks another group of Muslims, it is incumbent on the other Muslims to defend the oppressed party. Why don't they send their news agencies reporters to see what troubles have befallen Iran? Why don't they reflect it, when a reporter of a news agency tells the truth, on their radios? This death-like silence, among Muslims, what can it mean? Would you think the issue is Iraq, Iran, Saddam and the country, Iran? -- No, this is not the issue. It is Islam, not a country which is the issue. It is the issue of all the Islamic countries. It is the issue of the oppressed of the world. They want to overwhelm all our youngsters, to change our universities into centers of colonialism and they want to make our economy dependent. They want our Armed Forces to be dependent. Their target is not just Iran - their target is all the Muslim countries. They aim at all Islamic countries, but once they see one billion Moslems becoming united, just as our population of 35 million in Iran became united, this will end in their defeat, such a defeat that they cannot raise up their heads any more. If the 1 billion of the Moslem population of the world became united what will happen then? In order to prevent this from happening, they cause these wars. Why should the Islamic governments be so divided and aloof from each other? Why should the Islamic governments pay no attention to the social and political problems of Islam? Why should the Islamic governments ignore the fact that the issue is Islam and not Iran? The peoples are paying attention but the governments are not paying attention. For how long should we and our governments be dominated by the foreign powers? For how long should the advisors of the United States and the Soviet Union rule over us? And for how long should one Soviet corporal, one American corporal, and one British corporal rule over our armies? We ousted them! You too should oust them!

All Islamic countries must take those who act against Islam, against the decrees of the Qur'an, against the instructions of the Prophet of Islam, and throw them out! Why are they sitting quietly? Why are the Muslims sitting still? Why don't they struggle? Why don't the Muslims rise up against the oppressors? Why don't the oppressed of the world rise up against the oppressors? American blacks back us but the Islamic governments do not back us. The peoples wherever they were backed us. The Muslim peoples wherever they were backed us and condemned this usurper government of Ba'athist Iraq. But the governments did not do so. What has befallen these governments? Why should they give in to the pressure of oppression of the superpowers? Why should they be able to get away with what they are doing in Afghanistan while the Muslims sit and do nothing? Why should they be able to do such a thing to Iran and the Muslims sit silent? Can't they see that one-by-one these countries will be overwhelmed and then it will come their turn? This is a danger

for all the Muslims. I declare that all the Muslims are endangered by this attitude of their governments. They are sitting aside but are striving to make you fight each other. Why don't you study the know-how of Islam and the fates of the Muslims? How long should we be under the domination of foreign powers? How long should we allow them to trample us under their hooves? Why don't the Muslims wake up? The problem is the Islamic governments - the governments should wake up! If the governments wake up the problems of the Muslims will be solved and they will understand each other. But there are hands which prevent them from this. They have assigned them to prevent this. I pray to God, the Holy, the Most High, that He awakens all the Muslims and brings them under the banner of Islam (the crowd affirms the prayer of the Imam by shouting 'Ellahi-Amin') and that they may be able to solve the issues of Islam among themselves.

May the Peace and Mercy of God be upon you.

(At the end of the speech the Iranian and Pakistani Muslims shouted: 'Ruh-e-Mani Khomeini, Bot Shikani, Khomeini - You are my soul, Khomeini, Oh Idol-Smasher, you are Khomeini!')

IMAM RECEIVES IRANIAN ARABS FROM PROVINCE

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini, gave audience to a group of Arab tribesmen from the Province of Khuzestan at the Jamaran Mosque in Tehran on December 27, 1980. The following are excerpts from the Imam's address to them:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I would like to welcome you people who have come here from the war-stricken areas of our country. May God make you successful and may He cut off the hands of oppressors from our nation. (Audience: 'Amen.') And may He foil the designs of the big powers which seek to subjugate Muslims, and plunder their wealth. They have followed designs in the various forms. One of them is the issue of nationalistic sentiments. Islam has been brought to mankind in order to unite the ranks of the people irrespective of nationality, color or set. It has been brought in order to form a single and united Umma in the whole world. The big powers seek to divide the Muslim people and thereby rule on them. This is a policy against the principles of Islam and the Qur'anic tenets. All Muslims are brothers and sisters of one another and none of them is separate from the other. They are all under the Islamic banner and are free from the nationalistic sentiments, which tend to create schism in the ranks of Muslims.

Fortunately the facts about this Ba'ath Party has already been revealed to our citizens. Our people already know that Saddam despite his claims that he has been and means to remain a brother to all Arabs is far from being so. His criminal acts on our Arab brothers are even far greater than his crimes on the non-Arabs in Iran. The Ba'ath Party of Iraq has already proven that it does not support the Arab cause but that it supports the big powers and acts as the lackey in that country.

The Ba'ath Party commits as much cruelty on the people of Iraq and on its clergymen as anywhere else. It has imprisoned the Arab clergymen

and other Iraqi citizens and such criminal acts reveal that he is not acting under the banner of 'Tawhid.' Whereas we seek to prove it to the world that Islam is a religion for promoting brotherhood and that it is a religion in which no sect or group is discriminated against. But Iraq has already proven that it is not the least concerned with Islam. The Iraqi government is attached to the big powers. It intends to remain under the domination of the superpowers.

But Saddam's ambition for occupying this country only proved to be an empty hope and his aggression to our southern province of Khuzestan only plunged him deeper in his bad reputation. He has now completely lost his control and is writhing in his efforts for achieving even a comparative victory for himself.

I hope that with the help of Almighty God and with the struggle of our Arab brothers in Khuzestan and elsewhere throughout the southern and western fronts that this man who is falsely claiming that he is working 'for' the Arab cause will be sent to hell. We share with you in your sorrows whether you have come from Susangerd or Ahvaz or from any other part of the Province but I would like to reiterate here that this hardship has not been brought only to you but in fact it has been brought to Islam and since you are Muslims whatever misfortune should afflict you, it will have afflicted the whole community of Muslims. We hope that the Islamic community will rise and that they will cut off the hands that have kept our Muslim nations under their domination.

I pray to God Almighty for your good health and for your prosperity and I am confident that the hardship you have already been subjected to will be duly rewarded by God, Most Exalted.

IMAM URGES UNWAIVERING TENACITY

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, received on December 29, 1980, families of martyrs of the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The following is a translation of the text of the Imam's speech to the group of visiting families:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I thank you esteemed ladies, families of the martyrs and disabled of the Air Force who have come to see me in high morale and in good spirit. You are demonstrating to the opponents of our movement that you brave women just like your courageous men folk are ready to sacrifice your lives for the cause of Islam and the Islamic homeland. In the Holy Qur'an the Almighty stressed to the Prophet to show perseverance in his mission. In another passage in Sura Hood, the Almighty stresses to the Prophet and those who believe in Him the necessity of perseverance.

Today our nation generally and the Armed Forces especially the Air Force, have shown such spirit and carried out their divine duty. You ladies and families of martyrs of the Air Force should be proud of what your martyrs have done for the Islamic country; your statements are indicative of your perseverance. A nation which wants to preserve its honor and Islam which is the source of all honors should display resistance in its Jihad. In other words, a nation which wants to live in dignity

and bring Islam and its Islamic movement to fruition should not fear any problem that may come upon the course of Jihad and the battles that may ensue. The Almighty has made defense a task obligatory to each and every Muslim. At present we are in such a position and we are defending our dignity and our beloved Islam. The Almighty has also urged all nations to be perseverant. Imam Ali has been quoted to have said that in the course of war whenever they were under pressure, they would seek moral support from Prophet Mohammad.

If a nation fails to show perseverance it will never attain final victory. Today the whole nation and the Armed Forces have achieved great victories; our nation has astonished the whole world as it has defeated the greatest powers of the world. Our nation has curtailed the hands of the big powers and those of the enemies and humanity from its homeland and has become a model for all oppressed countries. Having done this, we should note that our nation, the Armed Forces and all the oppressed are missioned to be perseverant and show resistance. There are problems in wars, people get martyred and war creates fear, hunger, high prices and destruction. The movement that has taken place in Iran has made big power to indulge in intrigues one of which is the economic siege. Wars involve all these problems. You people who want to safeguard your country, you who have launched the movement at the expense of almost one hundred thousand people killed more than one hundred thousand disabled in order to attain victory should show more resistance and perseverance. The independence and freedom that you have gained are without precedence in the world. The preservation of such freedom and independence is a difficult task.

While members of our Armed Forces are giving their lives to save yours you should not grumble about such things as shortage of petrol or the like. Our youth, Revolutionary Guards, the Army, the Gendarmerie, and mobilized groups are showing all sorts of self-sacrifice at the borders. They are advancing everyday at the cost of many martyrs.

People should note that there are people who are making malicious propaganda concerning the shortages. These are people who want to rob you from your achievements, they want to break down your resistance.

I think the high morale which you have maintained throughout all this hardship makes you worthy of praise, and I would like to commend you for your perseverance in standing against plots, and for raising your voices and increasing your reading. I would also like to commend your efforts for inviting people to an honorable life. May God Most Exalted grant you and the rest of the nation the dignity which you deserve. And the dignity shall be bestowed upon men only by God. I hope that He will bestow upon you, the whole nation and the whole Muslims, the dignity and the honor which they deserve. Be steadfast in the Right Path. Spare not your perseverance, for you shall triumph. Let not the high cost of living, or shortages of provisions discourage you.

Long lines for daily provisions are still familiar scenes in a country like the Soviet Union whose people revolted more than 60 years ago and which is such a big power. The people who arrive from the Soviet Union say that the country is still troubled by shortage of materials. Even today the Soviet Union has to import wheat from the United States: a country which is itself struggling with so much pressure and with such a high number of poor people which perhaps exceeds those in other countries. Why should our nation listen to the rumors published by the corrupt people who are carefully designed and published for the purposes of lowering our peoples' morale? Why should our people listen to these rumor-mongers and corrupt agents who are regularly present among the people for discouraging them?

With your high morale you have worked miracles throughout the world. You have worked wonders in the world by maintaining your perseverance. Safeguard, you people, this wonderful miracle. Safeguard, you people, this great triumph, and as for those who publicly claim that nothing has been done, make them understand that what the Iranian people have done has been totally without precedence in the whole world. There is no record of the triumph of a nation of some 35 million over the big multi-million nations with such great weaponry.

Our nation has cut off the hands of the big powers. What else do they expect? Whatever accomplishments would be rated higher than this? Today is the time for perseverance. Today is the time for maintaining our convictions with unwaivering tenacity. God willing, we will lead this movement to its ultimate triumph.

I shall pray to God Almighty for absolving your martyrs and for bestowing good health upon those of your family members who have been crippled in the war. I also pray to God Almighty for giving you, your families and the whole people of Iran good health.

IMAM ADDRESSES CABINET MEMBERS

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini, on January 6, 1981, urged the Cabinet Ministers to open the eyes of the public to the services that they are rendering to the people instead of keeping a low profile and letting the counter-revolutionaries infect the minds of the people with destructive propaganda. He also called on them to participate in forum discussions with the opposition with a view to casting light on whatever they have done for the people since the culmination of the Islamic Revolution. The following is a translation from the text of the Imam's address to the group of visiting Cabinet Members:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord for the success of you gentlemen and I hope you will succeed in serving this country and in helping it to advance from its present status. I also have a couple of topics in my mind which I would like to bring up to you.

The core of our problems today generate from differences which are manifest among the people. No matter how much service you render for the people, the fault-finders and the cavillers will cavil at your good deeds unless you succeed in eliminating the prevailing discord. No doubt the idlers in the city streets and in the market places will continue to spread poisonous propaganda. This is their business. But if you try your best to resolve differences at their point of generation among the higher levels, and try to do this with tact and wisdom, God willing, you will have generated a psychological tranquility conducive to the speedy and proper fulfillment of the tasks which you have ahead of yourselves.

You brought up topics to me here today which you would have been much better advised to have brought up on the radio. Each of you gentlemen who is entrusted with the performance of any task would be better advised to reach the public on the radio. If, for example, you have accomplished anything which is denied by certain people, let them sit with you in a forum discussion on the radio or let them challenge you in the printed

media. Whoever denies the good things which you have accomplished, argues that the Islamic Republic has done nothing for the people, and whoever maintains that things have gone from bad to worse ever since the establishment of this Islamic Republic, ask them to challenge you in the media. If they did not accept your invitation for a face-to-face challenge, then it will mean that we have been successful in carrying out our duties. And, of course, the people should not heed the idle talk of those who argue that the government has accomplished nothing and that it is incapable of doing any significant service for the people. Such face-to-face encounters will help to eliminate the symptoms of mistrust in the people. True, the sowers of discord will continue to utter their captious criticism, but then fewer and fewer people will tend to believe them.

Some of you have assumed an attitude of silence against what is being said against you, while some of you publicise a fraction, and only a fraction, of the services that you do.

But wherever you are assigned as Cabinet Ministers or in what other capacities as you may be assigned, you should oblige yourselves to let the people know of whatever you have done for them. What you should not belabour is the description of your own devotion to God. But if you remain reticent about the public services which you have performed, your modesty in these cases will have adverse effects. That is your taciturnity in this respect will only serve to weaken your status as servants of the people. Instead you should give an account of your accomplishments and bring them to the knowledge of the public via radio and television and challenge those who deny the good services that you have done. Let them say that which they claim to have against your claims. Give them detailed performance reports of yourselves and compare your accomplishments during the past two years with the prevailing situation during the past satanic regime.

I recall sometime ago Mr. Bahonar (the Education Minister) told me that during the past two years they had built three times as many schools as they would normally do over a similar period under the past regime. He said that this marginal increase had been without precedent. Well, this and other things of the like, are things which should be made known to the people. You should come one by one and give the public the details of what you have done. But as for the prevailing schisms among certain people, in my opinion such differences boil down to personal ambitions, but are not very much deep-rooted. There are no causes for these differences except for worldly desires. You must make an effort into solving such problems yourselves, and if there are any people in any government Ministry who seek to obstruct the normal progress of work, you should prevent them from doing so wisely and tactfully. You should help them learn their duties, and if you should find them persisting in their malice and incorrigible you can purge them. But if there are people who have been unjustly purged you should recall them so that they may continue to work.

I hope, God willing, all defects will soon be repaired and that this war will be ended soon. Today they told us that the Iranian forces had achieved an encouraging victory in the battlefronts. I hope our forces will continue to fight as they did today and that we will have a tranquil country, though our enemies will not let us have peace very soon. They may spread the seeds of corruption anywhere, anytime, but you and we and the whole nation should remain as much determined to protect that which we have secured. The value of what we have gained today far exceeds the value of all that we have lost. True, we have lost many of our youth who were valuable for our nation, but such things are destined to happen to a nation which intends to live freely and independently. Since

our people are now one with their government and since they see no gap between themselves and the government, and further, since they consider this country as being truly their own country, therefore in the face of such a situation the people who may intend to harm the nation will not have as much of an opportunity for harming the nation as they would if this identity between the people and the government did not exist. If you keep people informed of whatever services you do for them, if you discuss issues with them, then propaganda of some people or the groups which are against the establishment of the Islamic Republic will have no effect upon the people.

I am convinced we have a nation with few or more properly with no parallel in the world. I do not think that even one person among you would know of any other nation as close to and united with and co-operative with their government as our people are in this country. They are the same people who would put a wrench in the wheel of the government during the past satanic regime. They showed no cooperation with the government of that time because they had realised that the government was not concerned about them. But you must make people understand that you have come to render services to the people, that the government offices are there in order to serve the people. Let them refer to the government organisations for doing any business which they might have with hope and confidence.

In the past our government offices were such as they would frustrate their visitors and their own clientele. It was such in the time of Reza Khan (the father of the deceased Shah) and it continued in the same vein in the time of his son. During the regime of Reza Khan, as a youth I would often reflect on the issues of the day. I recall, for example, that, at the time certain pass documents were required of the people who intended to travel to certain parts of the country, such as Azarbaijan. They had to obtain their passes from the police stations, and I recall people dreaded going to the police stations. When they were going to those places they seemed as much disconcerted and frightened as though they were being taken to prison. But this spirit should totally disappear from our people today. They should not have the least fear when they want to go to do business in a government organization. The poor and simple peasants and our countrymen tend to believe that our government offices still continue to work in the same vein as they did before. But our Ministries and our government offices should now be open to the public and should receive the business of the people with open arms. The people should now be able to discuss their problems with the Ministries and likewise our Ministries should make an effort to solve their problems. The people should come to think that here is a government of their own and that it works for them. The lack of grandeur and ostentation in our government administrators, as a peculiarity in contrast with the prevailing practices in the past regime, will not in the least adversely affect the people's trust in them. When the people come to realise that here is a government composed of austere men who are solely devoted to the task of serving the people, they will naturally come to love their government. This tendency is natural in man. There are many people who vividly remember the practice of the past regime. When they find out that here is a government precisely the opposite of the government of the past regime, that here is a government whose members are concerned about the people's peace and welfare, that this is a government composed of people concerned about bringing about the aspirations of the masses, that their government is devoted to fulfilling the cultural, the economic and other aspirations of the masses, that the Cabinet members and the government administrators are clearly austere people in sharp contrast with the people who bore

patronymic and titular loaded names designative of their social status during the past regime, that they are people like themselves and that they appear on television perhaps with children and without the pomp and circumstance which was the vogue during the past regime, that despite all their simplicity they are devoted to working for the people, they will unquestionably support that government.

Thanks be to God even now the people fully support their government. They support all governmental organs, and consider them to be from among themselves. Could you imagine the people aiding the past government if it was to fight against a foreign enemy? Nobody would. Had the past regime involved itself in a war the people would perhaps do anything they could to do away with that regime while it was entangled in the war, or, even by the most optimistic judgement they would at least refrain from cooperating with their government.

Today you see that our people, our children, our matrons and each and every citizen bring whatever they have in aid to the war-stricken people and in aid to the Armed Forces. The people who have eyes with which to see should open their eyes to such realities. There are certain people who argue that the Islamic Republic is just a sterotype of the past government. But the interface and the cooperation of the people with their government is entirely without precedent during our whole history. Is there a better Islamic Republic than what we have here? Admittedly there are problems. We have problems as have had revolutions in other places throughout the world. Some days ago one of my acquaintances received a letter from his son who is staying in the Soviet Union and who has written in his letter of the long queues for food and provisions there and of the shortages of consumer products there. Even today a country like the Soviet Union is dependent on the United States for certain food items. This is true in the face of all their facilities.

Today two years, or about two years have passed since the culmination of the Islamic Revolution. Whoever will say that the country has continued much along the same lines? Do you know of any Revolution followed by as much public services as we have had here? Do you know of any post-revolution era in any country during which so much repair and reconstructive services have been made? If there are people who argue otherwise let them come over and prove their allegations. You now see that the people have the freedom to say whatsoever they want to say. Every person feels free to say whatsoever he pleases. They shout in the streets and do this and that. You see the examples of the abuses of freedom in our society, but at any rate we have such freedom. But just look back in retrospect to the time of the past regime and the time of the ex-Shah. At that time whoever among you dared say anything against the prevailing dictates of the day? You were all standing with folded arms. Or, at most, if you were very good people you were retiring into your own homes, refusing to take part in any business. Or perhaps you would at times write some articles in a newspaper with a very general tone. But what you have today is freedom in the strict sense of the word. Whatever boom do we have today which can be ranked as being more valuable than our freedom?

In the past we depended wholly on foreign countries. But we are not dependent on them now. Naturally each country in the world has certain needs which are met by other countries, but this is far from being dependent. Today for example we may need to buy wheat: we pay the money and get the wheat we want. We do this in just the same way as does a baker. But this cannot be called 'dependence.' Dependence was a phenomena which prevailed during the time of the ex-Shah. Well, the Soviet Union purchases certain items from the United States, but it is not 'dependent' on the United States. Similarly the United States needs

to import certain items from Japan. This is done solely within the sphere of commercial exchanges. Such practices should not be construed as being symptoms of 'dependency.'

But dependence is a word descriptive of our status during the time of the ex-Shah. At that time the foreign countries were given the authority of managing every single bit of our affairs here. They had the authority to send 'advisors' here in order to mould our Armed Forces into this and that shape. And they accomplished whatever destruction as they could. However, the conventional forms of business and economic exchanges are far different in nature and purpose from acts aimed at making one country dependent on another. Today Iran is dependent on no other country. This is the prime gift that the Islamic Republic has brought us. And we have the freedom we need. But the people who keep on nagging and complaining why we do not have the liberty to do this and that, are not in fact criticising the government, but rather they want to stick a wrench into the wheel of the government. This is partly because you have failed in informing the public of the services you have rendered. It is because you have chosen not to let people know certain of your problems. This exists also because of the evil eye of certain ill-wishers.

Many of them are the people who cherished the hope of ascending to this or that office and incidentally, they are people who do not have even a morsel of faith in Islam or in the Islamic Republic. Such people cherished the hope of gaining power to run the affairs of the country. They have now seen that their hopes have not come true. And in retaliation they keep on nagging. But we cannot muzzle a person whose whole objective was to come to power and be given a ministerial post in a Ministry, or who cherished the hope of forming his own Cabinet and whose hopes never came true, or who is himself a dissident fugitive. We cannot order him to stop nagging. He will nag as he has so far done. But in some respect we are to be blamed for this situation. We have been at fault because we have not given our accomplishments the publicity which they deserve.

We are also to be blamed for our failure to correct the errors of various government organs which are spreading here and there in the various parts of the country. There are certain irregularities which are no big issues but which should be taken care of immediately. There have been reports of certain irregularities having occurred for example, among our Islamic Revolutionary Guards, or in our courts of justice, or in the Islamic Revolutionary Committees. Naturally, even as dependable and morally pure as our Islamic Revolutionary Guards are, still it is possible that certain people might have managed to infiltrate the Revolutionary Guards merely for the purpose of doing destructive acts and with a view to harming the good reputation of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards. Or it is possible that certain other people might have found their way into the courts and be working in judicial capacities solely with a view to corrupting the administration of justice in this country. This was also true in the early days of Islam. At that time, too, certain people had entered certain state organisations merely for the purpose of corrupting the system. Therefore, there are many faults and defects which should be investigated and which should be overcome. We should investigate, for example, what is happening in the courts, and in the prisons and elsewhere in the government organs with a view to pin-pointing the blemishes and to do something to wipe out such defects so that the true content of an Islamic Republic will prevail in this country. But this Revolution, which happened in Iran, has been totally without precedent. There is absolutely no record of a nation suddenly transcending itself from a corrupt mode of living to a reformed one within

such a short time. These same people now volunteer to go to the fronts. They have volunteered to offer their lives as martyrs, and they are happy to do so.

Many people cry and protest against us why they are not permitted to go to the war fronts, and ask me to do something for them so that they may be able to go to the war fronts. This is a spiritual revival bordering on a miracle and I hope this revival will continue in the future. And as long as it continues, it will not be vulnerable. It will not be vulnerable even to a military intervention here. But if, by the slightest possibility one should occur, and if they kill all of us, we will have nothing to resent for then we shall have accomplished our duties. We are Muslims, and responsible before God. You and we who have the task of running the state today are individuals responsible before God.

Do not let yourselves be misled by the notion that as a statesman you now can do anything you want to. It is not so. God is a witness of all your deeds, you are responsible for your acts and you shall have to answer for them. You shall have to answer for your words, as well as for your deeds. Should all of us, by the remotest chance - though it is entirely improbable - be destroyed, we shall have been destroyed in a rightful course, and this would not be destruction. If any such thing should ever occur in Iran it will shake the entire world, and we will thereby instill a totally new life into the world. We have never feared or been intimidated by such things as the threat of war. There is no reason why we should be intimidated by the threats of others. Why? Because we are acting in accordance with our duties and we are in the right. As long as we are in the right we have no reason to fear. May I remind you of the words of Imam Hussein's son to whom Hussein said (before going to battle with the apostates): "We shall all be killed." His son then asked him whether they were not in the right. When Imam Hussein answered affirmatively, his son then inquired: "If we are in the right what should we be afraid of?" There is nothing we should fear. It is as simple as that.

I pray to God Almighty to help you succeed in the tasks which you have assumed and I hope you will constantly review your own deeds, and remember that there is nothing you can conceal from God, and that your acts are being recorded. I also hope that in your Ministries you will have righteous people, and that you will keep vigil against the malicious acts of corrupt elements who may still be in your Ministries. I hope you will succeed in correcting the misled people in your Ministries in case you have any of them, and that if you should come across any individual who is incorrigible you will dismiss him.

I hope all the affairs of the state will be smoothed out. I also hope that you will proceed successfully in performing your task and that, God, willing, we will rid ourselves from the entanglement of our present problems.

IMAM'S ADDRESS TO FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL

In an address to the Iranian ambassadors and the staff of the Iranian embassies abroad, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, Imam Khomeini, urged them to launch a proper information campaign abroad for opening the eyes of the world's people to the realities of Islam. The

Imam who was talking to a group of the visiting staffs of the Iranian embassies abroad urged them to adhere more resolutely to the principles of Islam without the least fear of being labelled by less discerning people as being unconventional. He also called on them to live simple lives and to check themselves against developing any sense of inferiority in their confrontation with the extravaganzas which are typical of the offices of many of the western heads of state. The following is a translation of the text of the Imam's address to the group of visiting people in the Jamaran Mosque of Tehran on Sunday, January 4, 1981.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I pray to God Almighty for the good health of you gentlemen, you members of the staffs of our foreign embassies, our ambassadors and you dear students who have come here from foreign countries. I think you people who live in foreign countries, you who are assigned at the embassies of the Islamic Republic abroad, and you of our youth who live abroad shoulder a heavier task than do we people who live at home. Why? Because our nation is aware of the status of Islam and of what is happening to the Muslim world. And if they should perchance come across an individual or a group whose conduct they find against Islam, they will condemn that person or that group. But you are assigned to countries such as those of the west, which are either non-Islamic, or which if they are, have not gained a full insight into the core of the issue, and as such they must accept you as being the representatives of Islam. Should your personal behavior be in contrast with Islam, or should your embassies display obvious deviations from Islam proper, then the people in those countries will conclude that Islam is that which you are presenting to them.

Should the prevailing atmosphere in our embassies be the same, or much the same, as it was during the past satanic government, it would mean that Islam has not found its way into our embassies abroad. But as far as I have been informed, and albeit unfortunate to note, that until only recently our embassies were not Islamic in the proper sense, and if there have been any recent changes, those changes have not been brought to my knowledge. This lack of conformity with the Islamic principles has been manifest in many aspects: in the premises of your embassies, as well as in the conduct of our foreign ministry staff and specially with the ladies working in those places. Your embassies do not live up to the meaning of the Islamic Republic.

Certain emissaries of our Prophet Mohammad (peace be upon him) who were sent to the courts of the leading kings of his time were reported to have drawn the tips of their swords across the silken regal curtains which were hanging on the doors of their private halls upon entering such places. This symbolised the bloodying of the Pharohic high noses of the kings of those days. It may sound simple, but in practice it was not quite as simple as that. The individuals who were sent on those missions were simple Arabs devoted to Islam. They wanted to show their stand from the outset, and they meant to show from where they got their backing. They meant to prove, from the outset, that regal grandiosity and the stately impression manifest in the courts of the kings were far too trivial to impress them.

There were, and there are many people, who tend to lose their heads and panic as they come across personalities who, in their judgement, are superior. This was especially true at the time of the rule of the big powers. The examples of the statesmen who tried every contrivance in order to make the people revere them in awe, especially during the past 50 years and earlier on, are varied and many. During that time when a

government took the reign here, it would treat the people in a way which was typical of a Sultan. The government would not show the least respect to anyone. I recall some decades ago a person was assigned governor of the city of Golpayegan and at the time the city of Khomein was under the same jurisdiction. Upon his arrival to the city, a group of the leading traders and merchants in the city came to visit him. In the same gathering he picked out a respected merchant from among the visiting traders and ordered his men to flog him. I was a small child then but small as I was I witnessed with my own eyes what a corrupt government administrator did to an honourable and respectable man, who was the head of the merchants in the bazaar of the city. I witnessed how he had this man beaten in the presence of his peers. This was an example of their usual conduct. They also did this and similar acts by way of intimidating others. For example when a respectable man would go to visit the statesmen, as they were sitting with him they would order a victim to be brought in and flogged in the presence of that respectable man just to make him understand that he, too, would have to obey their orders. But what the emissaries of our Prophet did were seemingly simple gestures with grave implications. From the outset they broke down the presumptuous grandiosity of the Pharaohs.

Such, too, was the late Modarres. He would often sit down on a piece of rug in his yard. He would fix up his own water-pipe for himself, filling its reservoir with water and its torch with coke, and if, say, the Governor General happened to drop by, while he was busy doing this he would give him the water-pipe to fill with water while he himself was preparing a fire for its torch. And thus he would humble the Governor General of whose ranks and status you have no idea. He did this for the purpose of humiliating the corrupt brains of his time. They would become completely stunned in his presence as Modarres ordered them to 'fill it with water as I fix the fire.' At times one should behave in a manner so that the other person will abandon the hope of imposing anything on anyone. If he had assumed a conduct and a courtesy as was conventional in meeting the so-called dignitaries of his time, he would have allowed the Governor General to impose something on him. But since he assumed such a simple and decisive approach, he made it impossible for the Governor General to think of imposing anything on him.

Since you are assigned to foreign countries, you are bound to meet various ambassadors in your places of assignment, or with the Foreign Ministers and in your capacities you may have to go to the local Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and such like places, but you should not feel embarrassed or awed by the thought that you are going to meet, say, the U.S. Secretary of State or the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs. You should bear in mind that you are emissaries from a Muslim country which has power highly superior to those of the other countries, and which exceeds them in honor and good name - if they indeed have a morsel of such qualities at all. You should safeguard your honor from the outset. The principal task which lies on your shoulders and which we share with you here is the task of assuming a conduct with the people as well as with the staffs of your embassies as truly conforms with Islam and a behavior in a manner conducive to the export of Islam to the country of your assignment.

Ethical principles when manifested in any one individual are contagious, and the people will respond in accordance with their nature. Man's original nature is without blemish. It is wrong education which corrupts man's intact nature. While you are in the countries of your assignments you should think as though you were setting your foot in another country, as though you intended to educate the people of that country as you would

your own people. You should think as though you were to export Islam to that country. For exporting Islam to another country, you must evince an Islamic behavior, Islamic ethics, and Islamic practices in the country of your assignment such as will attract the people. A principal aid to this will be the publishing of magazines by each and every of our embassies. By 'magazines' I do not mean publications typical of the past regime, but rather publications expounding Islamic ethics, publications informative of whatever has happened in this country.

You now see that almost everywhere in the world, propaganda machineries are in operation against the Islamic Republic of Iran, and this is a multi-dimensional campaign of propaganda. This propaganda is launched both by the propaganda machinery of the west, and their aligned powers, and by the propaganda machinery of the east and their clients. They are doing all this because they are in a panic over the Islamic Republic. Worse than the loss of their interests in Iran - which, God willing, will remain so to the end of eternity - they fear the spread of this movement to their own countries. They are in a perpetual panic lest this movement and this Revolution should transcend territorial boundaries, and lest this faith should be exported to other nations. They already too well understand that which Islam propagates, and fear lest the prevailing mode of life in those countries will change to something similar to the prevailing system in Iran. They fear lest their aristocratic systems will fade under the pressure of such a movement and fade they will, with the grace of God.

Now, instead of indulging in expenditures typical of the past regime, instead of giving more of the lavish and spectacular feasts which were typical of the past regime and all which were against Islamic ethics, and instead of investing in other needless expenditures such as you know about, you should invest your money in proper publicity and informative efforts. You should introduce Islam to the whole world and tell others what our country is like. You should respond to each and every bit of hostile propaganda which is being published. You should introduce Iran to other nations of the world, and let them know of what is happening here. You should introduce the Islamic movement and the Islamic Revolution to the people of the world. Don't let yourselves be misled by the notion that if we assume a pure and austere mode of Islami conduct we will be humiliated in the face of the overpowering splendor and magnificence which is manifest in their foreign ministeries. Instead you will humiliate by your wise actions those magnificent buildings and those pillars of oppression and arrogance. Don't let yourselves be misled by the notion that if you adopt a simple mode of conduct, that if you only serve tea in your embassies, and that if you concentrate more on developing your embassies into centers for diffusing good deeds and knowledge and good ethics, that you will be humiliated. Nay! This is the reasoning of the 'westnobists,' who argue that if we are different from the westerners we shall be humiliated.

We are determined not to go the way of the westerners. We have resolved not to be dependent. We are committed to being independent and free. You now see that the people which have been immune to the U.S. propaganda and the propaganda of its dependent countries, all look to you in wonder, praising your morale.

Man's attire, and such of his profane possessions as his car, and its make and model, are no indictment of his greatness. Rather his greatness lies in certain hidden faculties which he can demonstrate and thereby prove that he is a great man. You see that the greatest of all human beings were the prophets and they, too, were the most austerer of all men. Great as they were and as highly as they were regarded by

other men, they were at the same time the most simple and the most austere in their mode of lives. Such were all of our prophets in their everyday lives. All history testifies to the simple lives that our prophets led.

The social status of the governments, the statesmen, and the Army commanders in the early days of Islam is all too clear to us. When the statesmen convened they would sit in circles without regard to status. When, for example, a person had business with the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him, upon his entering to their meeting place in the mosque he would have to enquire, who was Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him? He had to ask this because our Prophet and his men would sit round in a fashion which never indicated who was superior in rank or position to the others. There was no upper section of their assemblies in contrast to the lower sections. They would sit as simple as that, maybe on a piece of humble rush mat or straw mat, or perhaps none. But he and his men never sat even on a piece of carpet such as the one which is under your feet here. They would sit humbly together but despite this seeming simplicity they had a greatness such as impressed the whole world.

Man's greatness lies in his soul. Man's greatness lies in his ethical principles and his behavior and conduct, and not in the make and model of his car and other material possessions. What confers greatness on man is not the number of his bodyguards, or the number of servants. Such things cast no grandeur on man. Nay, they even tend to corrupt him and debase him from his true status.

Your common sense and your religious duty makes it incumbent on you gentlemen, who are assigned at our embassies abroad, to ensure that your offices are maintained in the simplest possible way, and that your conduct with the people who are among your staff conforms with brotherly principles. Your staff have the responsibility to do as you tell them to, but your behavior with them should always be brotherly. This reform should also become manifest in the manner you hold your receptions, and in your own manners and in the whole of the personnel who are assigned at your embassies. This should be a reform in line with Islam, so that it can be readily witnessed by an person who visits you at your embassies. It is no use for us to shout to the heavens that we are Muslims, and that our country is an Islamic Republic, if we do not practice that which we claim to be: they will not believe us. Rather they will believe us only when they see that our practice differs from what was the vogue during the past satanic regime. They will believe us when they see that we practice Islam as much as we claim to adhere to. To be capable of exporting the Islamic Revolution we should both assume a conduct conforming to Islam and should as much adapt our way of speaking with Islamic principles.

It does not take swords to export this ideology. The export of ideas by force is no export. We shall have exported Islam only when we have helped Islam and Islamic humane ethics grow in these countries. This is your responsibility and it is a task which you must fulfill. You should promote this idea by adopting a conduct conducive to the propagation of Islam and by publishing the necessary publications in your countries of assignment. This is a must. You must have publications. You must publish magazines. Such magazines should be promotive and their contents and pictures should be consistent with the Islamic Republic, so that by proper publicity campaigns you may pave the way for the spread of Islam in those areas. And you should note that if you continue to launch such publicity campaigns, and if our beloved students make efforts to open the eyes of foreigners to the realities in Iran, and if they analyse and show the falsehood of much of the reports and news which appear here

and there in the various publications, they will have exposed the distortion and the falsehood of what is regularly published in those countries.

To qualify for the fulfillment of this task, we must first believe in our hearts that we want our republic to be 'Islamic.' Our hearts should be as much inclined to Islam as are our tongues. If we urge that we want the establishment of the rule of Islam, we must as a natural consequence struggle against each and everything which is deviating from Islam: we must begin with ourselves. To qualify for the fulfillment of this task man should first examine his own self with a view to finding out his own deviations.

Inevitably, every man can detect blemishes in himself. Examples of the people who do not see any blemishes in themselves are very few. If one is incapable of seeing his own flaws, this is in itself a vivid blemish in his personality. Man needs to be educated. Or better still he must be 'purified': that is, to educate himself while he is purifying his soul. One must start out from himself, from his own family, in order that he may later on reach other communities. Our students should take every caution in order to ensure that their speaking and their behavior conform with ethical and Islamic principles. You should do this in order that when you call others to Islam your own words will then conform with your deeds. You should keep constant watch on your deeds lest you be mocked at for your own un-Islamic deeds when you decide to call others to Islam.

I shall pray to God Almighty for your good health. Our people, in short, have the responsibility to present the true Islam to foreigners by assuming a behavior consistent with their faith. But if there are any of our people whose conduct is in sharp contrast with Islam, due to the penetration of certain irreligious people into their circles, such conditions will only provide a pretext for our enemies as a weapon for condemning us with all their might. You ambassadors of the Islamic Republic abroad, and your staff and our youth residing abroad and our Islamic Associations and all Muslims and non-Muslims who work with you have a heavier task on your shoulders than do we here at home. We all have our responsibilities but just by way of comparison yours are heavier than ours. You must succeed in performing this task, and I hope you will succeed, with the grace of God. Once you succeed in introducing Islam to the people in the country of your assignment, the people who are inclined to go to the Right Path - which form the majority of the people - will be attracted to you, and as they become more receptive they will gradually act in accordance with the principles of the Islamic faith and hence the way will be paved for the exportation of Islam.

May God protect you at all times and may He make us successful in our endeavors for strengthening Islam everywhere, and may He make us promoters of Islam and numbered among His holy army so that, God willing, this nation, as well as other Muslim nations, and the impoverished masses of the world will prosper.

May the Peace and Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM'S SPEECH TO MARTYR'S FOUNDATION PERSONNEL

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini, received a group of the staff of the Welfare Foundation for the Martyrs and Invalids at the Jamaran Mosque of Tehran on Saturday, January 10, 1981.

The following is a translation of the Imam's speech:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

The excellence of any service is valued against the excellence of the person for whose sake we fulfill that service. Whoever should accomplish anything for the cause of God and for the sake of the people has fulfilled an accomplishment which should be rated on this same scale. Values are different. Those whom we serve have a value before God. The Blessed and Supreme Lord values all institutions which serve this country in the cause of God and Islam and all those who serve for the revival of the word of Islam, and I hope He shall bestow His divine rewards on them. But the Foundation for the Martyrs may perhaps merit a higher value than other institutions in that it is devoted to the task of serving the bereaved families of our martyrs, and those who volunteered to sacrifice themselves for promoting Islam, but who lost a limb or an organ, or who were severely wounded. The services which this Foundation renders for the martyrs of Islam and for the patriotic believers may perhaps be rated higher than other services. The traditions related in Islam, and from the Muslim saints, about martyrdom are so many and varied and are staggering to the imagination. I would like to relate only a few of them here so that you will know whom you serve and of what value your Foundation is.

A tradition is commonly related to Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him, in this concern which ascribes seven attributes to the martyrs. The first attribute is that a martyr is absolved of all his sins as soon as the first drop of his blood is shed on the earth. He will be absolved of all his sins. But most important of those descriptions attributed to the martyrs is that a martyr looks in the direction of God. This is said both of all the Prophets and of all martyrs. It might be thus explained perhaps, that all veils which separate man from the direction of God all end in the veil existing within man himself. Man himself embodies all veils. All veils originating from darkness or light convene in the veil which embodies man himself. We ourselves embody the veils which separate us from the 'direction of God.' Once a person should give away this veil for the cause of God, and for Him alone, and once he should defeat this veil and offer his life, which is his own veil, he has broken down the origins of all veils. He has destroyed his ego. He has destroyed his egotism and his selfishness and he has offered himself. And since he has fought for God, and defended for God, and risen to safeguard a land of God and His Divine decrees, and further since he has offered generously and sincerely whatever he has had including his own life, he has torn down this veil.

The martyrs who offered their lives for the cause of God generously and sincerely, and who so solely for the Blessed and Supreme Lord, have offered everything within their possession including the most endeared thing which they have, will see God's Epiphany, as did the Prophets before them. The Prophets who wanted everything for the cause of God. They did not see themselves except as being from God. They were free from individuality, and from 'self.' And so did they unveil the shroud which separated them from God.

"But when his Lord manifested His glory to the mountains, He made it crumble..." (Holy Qur'an, Sura 12, Verse 143). And so did the Lord manifest His glory in Mount Tur, or in Mount Anith, at which sight Moses fainted. During their lives, the Prophets and the Saints and their peers succeeded in crushing down the veils which separate men from God. They (the Prophets) see the glory of the Lord. They look and perceive with their inner eyes of reasoning, and apprehend by the agency

of their spiritual and philosophic insight. They see the Epiphany of the Supreme Lord, and so do the martyrs in accordance with this same tradition which I just related. The martyrs have seen the manifestation of the Lord, because they have given away whatever they have had in the cause of God. This is the most exalted status of man. It is man's peak of Perfection. This tradition which is recorded in the book of Kafi, ranks the Prophets among the martyrs in that the Lord manifests Himself to the martyrs in the same way as He manifests Himself to the Prophets.

The martyr looks in the way of the Lord and in His direction. A martyr breaks every barrier and every obstacle which stands between him and the Lord and so did the Prophets. This is the last destination of man which he may reach. They say this is the highest exaltation for the martyrs as well as for the Prophets, and the martyrs reach this point in accordance with their personal capability.

The Foundation for the Welfare of the Martyrs excels all other foundations, because martyrs excell all other people. Any service done in this Foundation is far superior to other services. They all serve the people, they all serve for God and for the sake of virtue. This is a virtue for all, it is a virtue before God. Those who serve for the war-stricken people, help the people who are consecrators. Whoever helps the war-stricken people and the refugees has helped the consecrators of Islam. But service to (families of) the martyrs merits a higher value. The person who has offered his life for martyrdom but who was only wounded and is now a crippled and invalid person is a person who had done his duty but who has not succeeded in giving his life. You people who are in the service of this Foundation should be aware of the value it has. You should be cognizant of the value of these services. These are the very people for whom the likes of such traditions have been said. The Lord has ranked them with the Prophets. Your service to them will be a service to Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him. It is a service rendered for the Prophets. You should know that you are serving for the cause of the martyrs, that your Foundation is the Foundation for the martyrs and that martyrs excell all others for their martyrdom. There is also another tradition which says that every good deed may be excelled by another deed except the act of martyrdom in a Divine cause. It is obvious that a person who has sacrificed his life for Him cannot be excelled by anyone.

You are serving the people who are affiliated with or attached to the martyrs. Your service is most valuable insofar as they are weighed against such traditions. I hope that all our people throughout the country will be servants to this country and to the Islamic Republic. The fulfillment of this service would be like struggling for the Lord, and I hope they will all join and share with the strugglers for Divine causes. Every person who is performing a similar service for the martyrs in any part of the country is as though he or she were struggling along with the holy strugglers, be it an old lady doing a morsel of aid to them or an old man doing any specific service for the bereaved families of our martyrs. I hope the Lord shall give them a compensation comparable to that of the martyrs.

But of paramount importance is the way and the manner you perform your services. In performing your services you should be honest and do it with a spirit of serving. You should not cast your services in the teeth of the people whom you serve. On the contrary, you should all feel indebted to them. You serve them and pay them respect. Whatever you do, do it respectfully and in a manner consistent with their dignity. They are the families of our martyrs, and the families of the people who have become invalid and crippled and who have such a high value. We should

be servants to them. Whatever you do, whatever services you perform for them, is a deep acceptable to the Lord, and we should stoop to serve them. We should serve them in this same manner. You should be wary lest you might once tend to say even a single unkind or discourteous word to the families of the martyrs or to the crippled people or to their families. You should ensure that whatever you do, you do it for a Divine cause. You do it for the sake of the person who has shown self-sacrifice for God, for the person who has sacrificed his life for the Lord. And as we stoop to seek favour from Him, as we worship Him, as we are indebted to Him, as we are indebted to the Blessed and Supreme Lord for being guided by Him, and as we never consider Him being indebted to us but rather us to Him, likewise this service which you render is a service performed for the Blessed and Supreme Lord and for the holy strugglers and martyrs. We should serve most heartily without thinking much of our services. They gave away their lives, and for them you expend from the resources which you have. And I hope as long as you fulfill this for this Divine cause the Lord will give you a reward like that which He gives the strugglers in Jihad.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM ADDRESSES BEREAVED FAMILIES OF MARTYRS

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, received a group of the bereaved families of martyrs from the cities of Rudsar, Mashan and Tabriz as well as members of the Cultural Staff of the Reconstruction Crusade. The following is the text of the Imam's speech on January 14, 1981:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

One would feel at once proud and equally aggrieved by looking at the portraits of the martyrs and of the potent youth of this country which you noble men and women are now holding in your hands. I implore His Divine mercy on them, as I pray for the good health of the crippled people and I shall pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord to give you happiness, good health and patience. The mishaps which have befallen you, have in fact befallen the whole of the nation. They are the sons of this country and are our brothers.

I feel obliged to tell you something and to open your eyes to certain facts. The big powers had their own calculations from the time they installed Reza Khan (father of the deceased Shah) here until the Islamic Revolution triumphed in this country. Their calculations were based on profane and materialistic hypotheses: they had failed to make allowances for certain developments. They were unable to see deeply into certain issues, as potential variables. In the time of Reza Khan, they (the big powers) exerted much effort to find their ways into these nations and plunder their wealth. They had several tactics in fulfilling these aims: one of their tactics was the repression of the tribal and ethnic groups in this country, in order that they might estrange them from their tribal mode of living and, in their own words, 'settle' them. Why? Because they saw that our tribes were a strength to this country. We have tribesmen everywhere in our country.

They are tribesmen wherever they are. There are tribesmen in Khuzestan,

as there are tribesmen in Kordestan, Kermanshah, Fars, Sistan, Baluchestan and Azarbaijan. They are in plentiful numbers here and there. They were a backing force to Iran and they (the big powers) were determined to repress our tribesmen. And by their agent Reza Khan they repressed almost all our tribal groups. Today as many of our tribesmen are fighting in the war fronts, we understand the potential role of the tribesmen. Many of the tribesmen demonstrated acts of the utmost bravery, and they are all faithful to Islam be they Bakhtiari, Qashqa'is, or the Fars. They all volunteer to go to the fronts and I hope we shall never need to send the entire of our tribesmen to the fronts. But today we understand why they insisted on removing the tribesmen. They had studied the tribal people in this country and were knowledgeable about their potential. They were intent on destroying the tribesmen, as they were intent to do the same with the clergy in Iran. They had suffered such a blow from the Tangestani tribesmen which incited them to take their revenge. They, and especially the British government has suffered a lot, especially in the Tobacco Agreement affair and therefore, just one of their designs on the people of this country was to rob this nation of this potential power.

They were intent on repressing the ethnic groups here. They were intent on estranging them from the rest of the nation and the nation from them. They also imposed sanctions for muzzling the tribesmen, such as banning the processions of the tribesmen in their tribal costumes during the (mourning) months of Moharram and Safar. The procession of the (mourning) tribesmen, too, signified a communal power, and therefore they decided to prohibit it. They continued much in the same vein until the power was placed into the hands of his son who was worthy of his father. And his son (the deceased Shah) even excelled his father and did that which you know and on which I need not elaborate here. And everything continued in the same vein until the Revolution.

You recall that as the Revolution gained impetus, they (the big powers) secretly and persistently spread this idea that the whole of our Armed Forces were 'taguti' (i.e. Satanic: typical of the past regime and adherent to the monarchial values) and that our Armed Forces should be dissolved in their entirety. Whereas you noticed that except for the former Army commanders, who either fled the country, or were arrested here, the core of our Armed Forces were faithful to Islam and to their country, and the same forces have demonstrated their faith and their loyalty to their country and their potential in this war which is now going on. The big powers again noticed that our Armed Forces showed a predilection for the nation and this was like a thorn in their sides. Therefore, through their agents here they started propagating the idea that the Armed Forces of the past regime only fitted the past regime and that we should dispose of them. They said we should dissolve our Armed Forces, our Security Forces, our police, our Gendarmerie and what not. They tried hard to inculcate this belief into the minds of the people that we should do away with them and start everything from scratch. But even then it was all too clear than in propagating this belief they had their own axe to grind.

Today when our Armed Forces, our Gendarmerie and our state police are contributing their significant role in this crucial juncture we can better understand what they were worried about. We can understand what they wanted to do. They wanted to see us dispossessed of all our resources in these days when we are involved in this war with the irreligious forces of the Ba'athist Party of Iraq. They wanted the Ba'athist forces of Iraq to have everything in their possession in terms of weaponry. And they are also hostile to the Islamic Revolutionary Guards. The same people

an who argued that we did not need any Armed Forces were the same people
 e who said that we did not need Revolutionary Guards at all. They
 wanted to do away with the Revolutionary Guards. But we see the role
 of the Revolutionary Guards in the war, and thanks be to God, today the
 whole of our forces, including the Islamic Revolutionary Guards, our
 police officers and constables, our Genarmerie officers and Armed Forces,
 our tribesmen and the establishment for the Mobilisation of the Oppressed
 are all in accord. They have pounded the forces of Falsehood and they
 will continue to do in the future.

Such were their designs in the past, and they are busy conceiving
 similar designs even today. You should never overlook whatever is
 happening around you. You should take heed of what they publish. You
 should always remember that the groups which were and which are the
 targets of the severest attacks from those misled people are the groups
 which are the most beneficial to this nation and as much troublesome to
 the foreigners.

If you should see that they abuse the Revolutionary Guards more
 than they do other groups you can conclude that they stand in fear of
 the Islamic Revolutionary Guards and if you should see that they want
 to demoralise our Armed Forces you can be sure that by doing so they
 mean to alienate the Armed Forces from the nation, because they fear
 those forces. Likewise if you should ever see that they want to do away
 with the clergy, you should remember that they are afraid of them as
 they were before.

You, our brothers, are the bereaved families of the people in whom
 this nation takes pride. You are mourning the patriots who proved and
 recorded increasing honor for this nation. And you people, who have
 won increased pride for this nation, feel assured that your names are
 ever recorded in this world and in the world hereafter. You changed
 the course of history. Our nation changed the course of history. They
 made history turn about, when the big powers were wary of each and every
 possibility in their own calculations. But they seemingly overlooked
 one aspect: they underestimated the spiritual forces. They looked at
 the world with only one eye. Their cognizance of this part of the world
 was as much as could be exposed to them with their left eye, or perhaps
 with their right eye which exposed to them only the material beings and
 materialism.

Both the leftists and the rightists had planned for the annihilation
 of our tribesmen according to their limited insight which comes from
 looking at things with only one eye. They had also planned for the
 annihilation of the clergy, of the Armed Forces, of the security forces
 and of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards. But they had failed to take
 into consideration only one variable: that is the potential of the
 spiritual values. They overlooked the fact that the whole nation was
 inclined to God and to Islam, and that their devotion was such as to
 incite them to self-sacrifice and martyrdom. Everyday people come here
 in multitudes and they urge me in crying voices to implore the Lord in
 order to let them be martyred. But I pray to God for their victory and
 I implore Him to give such people a reward equivalent to that given to
 the martyrs. They had not counted on this variable. They had either
 not heard about the early history of Islam or had ignored it. In the
 early days of Islam it was not weaponry which finally triumphed over
 the two vast empires (of Persia and Rome). Why? Because the Muslims
 did not have arms. Each small group of the army of the Muslims had only
 one camel or one horse. Perhaps their whole weaponry consisted of a
 bunch of blunt swords. The other side, that is, the Persians and the
 Romans had everything. They had the whole of the war provisions as were
 available at that time. But they lacked only one thing: faith. Because

they did not have faith their commanders on various occasions had their infantrymen tied together with chains lest they might flee the battlefields.

But, my brothers, even today you should know that our enemies have everything and every weapon - except the weapon of faith, and you have faith which excels everything and, thanks be to God, you have every necessary provision. I am confident that as in the early days of Islam when the power of faith and the power of the Muslims overpowered the empires which embodied the whole power of the world of that time, so too will you who are standing against the big powers, you, who are equipped both with the values of this world, as well as with the spiritual values. I pray to God Almighty that you will be able to stop the interference of the foreign powers in your country and I hope that you will soon succeed in sending this corrupt system of the Ba'athist Party of Iraq, which is already dying, to the grave.

But you should also constantly have an eye on securing your faith and on securing the solidarity which your faith has brought to you. We have lost many martyrs. We have had many of our people crippled and we have lost a great many of our youth. But thanks be to God, our nation, our men, our women, our elders and our youngsters have not lost their faith in God. Thanks be to God, our nation is confident that with its faith it will finally succeed in overpowering the foreign powers which are now intent on interfering in this country.

I pray to God Almighty to make you successful in the task that you have assumed and that He will have mercy upon our martyrs, and that He will give an early recovery to our crippled people. May the Lord grant the whole nation its reward and may He maintain the unity of expression among the nation.

May the Peace and Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM'S ADDRESS TO DIPLOMATIC CORPS ON 22ND OF BAHMAN

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, said to a group of foreign ambassadors in Tehran on February 11, 1981 that Saddam Hussein of Iraq was just another Hitler following much the same chauvenistic ideologies for destroying mankind under the pseudo-appealing dogma of Pan-Arabism. He said Hitler had brought so much destruction to mankind and to his own people just because he held this foolish idea that his people and the Germans as a race were superior to all other races. The group of ambassadors were visiting Imam Khomeini in Tehran to express their congratulations to him on the second anniversary of the triumph of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. The following is a translation of the full text of the Imam's speech on the occasion:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I would like to thank you gentlemen and respectable foreign ambassadors who have taken the trouble of coming here today on the occasion of the second anniversary of the triumph of the Iranian people and of the Islamic Revolution. I congratulate the oppressed masses of the world on the occasion of this anniversary which augurs the freeing of the masses from the yoke of the superpowers and their liberation from the

domination of the oppressing powers.

The Islamic nation adheres to a school of thought which can be summarised in essence in this creed: "Do not commit injustice, nor permit others to do you injustice." During all the history we were done much injustice by internal and external powers. This was true especially in the past 50 years during which time the big powers brought that regime to power: the British brought Reza Khan to power and the Allies, Mohammad Reza. During the past 50 years we were under oppression and pressure from everywhere and in every respect. During all this time oppression, injustice and invasion manifested themselves here in their full spectrum: This encompassed the cultural, military, economic and social aspects of our lives. During the past 50 years we all lived in a country under foreign domination and ruled by internal agents of the foreign powers and we witnessed so much injustice being done here that it deserves a separate volume in a history book.

ed Their injustice to our religion, to our women, to our youth, to our intellectuals, and to the ulema of Islam was such that cannot be described in a single day or in several sessions. After our nation had long suffered all this oppression and when they felt they were at the point where they could no longer tolerate it, they revolted. During this Revolution which took them more than 15 years to win they lost many rs of their people as martyrs. Much blood of our youth was shed, they were subjected to frequent acts of massacre by the then ruling regime, and upon its culmination many of our people were rendered crippled and invalidated. But in the end they succeeded in cutting off the hands of that oppressing and dependent power from their country, and also the hands of the people who were plundering the wealth of this nation under the guise of business transactions and trade exchanges.

Today, however, we are determined to fulfill the message hidden in this simple dogma. We intend to make sure that we neither commit any act of injustice against others nor let others tyrannise over us. During all past history we were being tyrannised over. We were being oppressed from everywhere. Today we intend not to be tyrannised over nor to enact tyranny against others. In fulfillment of an Islamic tenet we will never seek to make any aggression against any other country, we will never transgress against any person, because we must not. But likewise we have the duty to ward off any aggression against us by others. Today our people, our men, our women, our youngsters and our elders are determined to stand against any aggression and to give their lives for securing their freedom and independence and for ensuring that they will not be subjugated to oppression. We expect of all Muslim nations - if they adhere to the principles of Islam - neither to do injustice to others nor permit others to do them injustice. To the nations, which are followers of Jesus Christ, I would only need say here that Jesus Christ never endorsed any act of injustice, and to the people who profess to be followers of Moses, I would only like to say that Moses never approved of injustice to others nor did he accept injustice being done to himself. Such were the teachings of the Prophets: Such were the divine teachings which were conveyed to man by the Prophets. The Prophets prescribed the commission of injustice. They ruled out even the slightest and the most negligible instance of injustice.

do We remember too well the bitter taste of injustice to us, and I recall that throughout the past regime our people were treated in a manner which was even below the dignity of animals. We witnessed the domination of animals over us who did not in the least respect the dignity of man. We were being ruled over by beasts who would kill our youth by the most heart-rendering tortures in prisons. They even brought experts from Israel who were conversant with the most advanced methods of torture.

We triumphed over injustice and our people triumphed over that regime and over the people who intended to take this country and everything in it from us. They triumphed over the people who wanted to deprive us of our natural resources and who intended to take them away for nothing. Our nation revolted and cut off the hands of the oppressors *and we are determined not to give away what we have achieved.*

It would be worth your while to go back into the pages of history in order to find documented proofs attesting to the vanity and falsehood of Saddam's claims. As far as history shows the whole of Iraq was once a part of Iran. Ctesiphon belonged to Iran, and there are too many documents and proofs in Ctesiphon and in the Arch of Kasra in Baghdad, all of which attest to the validity of this statement. But because we follow the principles of Islam and because we respect our past agreements we are never intent on taking back even an inch of those lands which now belong to Iraq, but likewise we will not cede even an inch of our territories to Iraq. Neither do we commit injustice against others nor do we permit them to do so against us. You respectable ambassadors who are here today and who have been witnessing the injustice done against us by Saddam's regime and who have noticed his onslaughts against us as reported on the radios and the press, must also note that this regime has transgressed against us and his violation and aggression against us should be remedied. His troops must go back to their former positions in order that we may decide what we should do with him. IM

This man transgressed against our territories in a blatant violation of all international agreements and in defiance of all humanistic principles. He has killed multitudes of our people, our youth, our children and our women and our elders and has made multitudes of our people homeless. Meanwhile since sometime ago he has been expelling groups of people from Iraq just because their ancestors had years ago emmigrated from Iran to Iraq and just because he has claimed they were of Iranian stock. We have received all those people in our country with open arms and have treated them in the same way as we treated our own people. We have taken a great many of Iraqis as captives. They were taken captive from among the invading troops but we treat them with such humane principles as is without precedent anywhere else. We treat the Iraqi captives as being our own brothers, while there are well-documented proofs which show that they are torturing Iranian captives in the various prisons in Iraq. They are even torturing our Minister of Oil, and, as the newspapers have said recently, he will not survive longer under this torture. gr
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Such is Saddam's regime and he himself is the person who uttered that appalling rapid talk in the Taif Conference and assumed the profile of a so-called naive person deserving sympathy! An ironically no one cares to call him to trial and prove to him that despite his assumptions, he is a wrong-doer and the oppressor. No one cares enough to tell him that he is a treacherous person shamelessly calling himself the protector of the interests of the Arab people. Let him lift suppression from the heads of the Iraqis for two days only and you shall then find out precisely who is with him. He boasts and claims much in the same manner as did the deceased Shah. He, too, always claimed that the Iranian nation fully supported him in whatever he did, and you noticed what our people finally did to show him what they thought of him! And so too are the people in Iraq. Let them lift the bayonets from above their heads for one day so that the world may see whether they approve of him or not! He claims that he is determined to strengthen Pan-Arabism. This is against Islam. But in contrast against what he claims to be adhering to, we seek not to promote the Pan-Arab cause but rather Pan-Arab and Bu
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non-Arab causes. We care about the welfare and the promotion of the ideals of all races but not in the same way as the Ba'athists advocate. They denounce all other races and all other ethnic groups. They denounce the Turks and other groups and they wish the survival of the 'Arabs' only. This is much the same ideology as that of Hitler's. He, too, considered his own nation and his own people as being superior to other nations and he did to the world what you know of. We commit no injustice to others nor do we let others do injustice to us. Saddam and his agents have been publishing false allegations to the affect that we intended to attack Iraq. What he has been publishing in the media has been slanderous libels against us. Islam allows us neither to do injustice nor to agree to injustice being done against us. We do not have any eye to even as little as one inch of other territories even if we should have the power to occupy the whole world. Islam does not approve of aggression but likewise we will not cede even as little as one inch of our territories to others. We have already put Saddam in his place and will continue to do this more decisively in the future. May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM URGES WORKERS AND NATION TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, said to a group of Iranian oil workers on February 15, 1981, that Iran would not become industrially and economically independent unless the people totally abandoned their former habit of living on imported products, and instead undertake continuous efforts for increasing production capabilities at home. The following is a translation of the text of the Imam's speech:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

The big powers have inflicted us with several disastrous evils. But by far the worst harm that they did was that which affected our personality, and replaced our Persian and Islamic personality with a sham personality: the personality of 'dependent' people, a so-called 'European' personality, a half-eastern, half-western personality. This was the central idea behind the educational system in the past regime. They endeavoured to develop a dependent personality in the people of our country and conditioned the mentality of our school children to a shape consistent with this same principle. And they provided this same sort of education for our students throughout their higher studies. Iran was for some time afflicted with this sickness of self-humiliation. For years Iranians were led into believing that they were capable of accomplishing nothing and that they had to import everything from abroad, or that they would have to implore the westerners to give them what they wanted. They believed that if they wanted to do such simple things, as say removing a vermiform appendix, they would have to go abroad or have this simple surgical operation performed by a foreign surgeon here. You undoubtedly remember that during the past regime, Mohammad Reza once invited a foreign surgeon just for performing a minor surgical operation, perhaps removing a vermiform appendix or something of the like. And you know what a scandal such things were for a person who claimed that he

meant to take this country to the era of the great civilisation and for a person about whom so much propaganda had been published throughout the world. They had shown him to be such a great personality whereas such foolish acts brought him much disrepute and scandal. By doing such acts he and people like him meant to humiliate the people who were experts at home. They meant to humiliate our own doctors. This was nothing incidental. These acts like this were part of the program for alienating our people from their own true personality. When they wanted to rebuild a road they would often invite foreign expertise. They would stretch their hands to foreigners in order to give them help. Not that we did not have the expertise at home but rather because they intended to ignore or belittle our own experts here. They meant to impose the idea on us that we were capable of doing nothing, that we are capable of accomplishing nothing, that we had to import everything from abroad, be it the experts for building a road and for other things, without considering the expenses involved in such projects. They thought nothing of the huge expenses involved in utilising foreign expertise for doing simple things in this country. The idea was to belittle the brains and the mentality of Iranians. They intended to impose the idea on our own doctors that they were capable of doing nothing even in the field of their own specialty. They instilled the idea on us that we have to import everything from abroad and that we were wholly incapable. But immediately after this war which was imposed on us you and the rest of the people in this country noticed how perfectly well our own people and our people in the Armed Forces managed to manufacture the various parts necessary for our military equipment. If they did not have the capability they would not have been able to accomplish such things as they have. But despite all this, during the past regime they inculcated into our minds that we would have to import everything from abroad. I firmly believe that if we remain under economic sanctions for 10 to 15 years only then shall we be able to find our potential and our true personality. Only then will our people discover their hidden capabilities. Naturally a person who is in the habit of sitting back and having everything brought to him by others, will not be able to utilise his own mental capability. He can not even do anything for a living.

If everything was brought to him from early morning until bedtime, if other people would bring to him his food and would bring him his needs at the different hours of the day, he would thereby have been inactivated. He would surely develop into a cripple. They intended to make this country into a nation of cripples. They invested much in publishing much propaganda in order to make us believe that we were capable of accomplishing nothing, that we were good-for-nothing people, that we had to receive everything brought to us ready-made from abroad. Once a nation continuously receives all its needs from abroad it is unlikely that the people in that country will ever think of responding to their own needs. But the people's mind will be activated once they find out that nobody is going to give them anything, if they do not work hard for their agriculture, for their oil industry, for building their own houses, and so on and so forth. Only then will they have experts among themselves and only then are they likely to find hands capable of responding to their needs. They shall then rebuild their agriculture, their factories, as have our people. And everyday you see various examples on television of how the people have discovered their own technical capabilities. Had we continued to receive everything from abroad our youth would not go after anything. They would not seek to cope with their own needs. They would say 'we have everything we need, there is no reason why we should work hard for more.' I consider these economic sanctions as being a Divine blessing for our own country despite

the bad omens which it has in the view of certain of our people. Why? Because the imposition of the economic sanctions on us means that we will not receive anything from those who used to give us what we needed. We might have to work hard to live in a period of austerity for some 10 years or more but at least at the end of that period we can be sure that this country will not be dependent on this or that power, that we will not need this or that country.

During the past regime we had an educational system which inculcated this idea into our youngsters that they were incapable, that they had empty heads, and that they would have to remain as consumers. And ironically many people argued in favor of this policy. They disputed any idea against this established belief. They said that they would receive everything from abroad and that we could remain consumers forever, whereas they were seemingly ignorant of this fact that their masters were plundering the whole of their resources in exchange for a few goodies that they gave to the people of this country.

The principle idea for us to understand now is that we are to receive nothing whatsoever from other countries, that we have to produce everything ourselves. If our farmers fully understand this idea that the foreign countries will give us nothing and that they will have to produce whatever they can, our own farmers will produce agricultural crops sufficient for our needs, and our people will help them. I heard something that the people in China once grew wheat upon their rooftops of their houses as well as in their front-yards and back-yards. Once a nation decides to stand on its own feet it has to use its brains and find out what it can do to ensure its own interests. It should reconcile itself with the fact that it will receive nothing from abroad and that it will have to produce everything for itself. If we had a factory which is not working now, we should not seek to invite foreign expertise but must rather try to operate it ourselves. The minds of Europeans are in no way superior to those of the Iranians but there is a difference between the two peoples: they were educated differently. They were educated in order to become idle and wasteful. Now for how long shall we have to continue this same policy? For how long shall we rely on receiving aids and materials and such simple things as bread and meat from abroad? For how long shall we expect them to come over here in order to improve our own Armed Forces? There should be an end to this policy. One cannot live as a parasite forever.

The principal thing for us to realise now is that we are capable people, that we are capable of doing what we will. That as soon as a nation is determined to do anything it will have the power and the capability necessary for accomplishing it. We will have to discard all traditional beliefs which were inculcated into our minds in this aspect, and likewise our own scholars, our men of letters, our public speakers, our administrators, and our informed people must continuously remind our people of their own capabilities, whereas in the past much deceptive propaganda led our people into believing that they could do absolutely nothing unless they were dependent either to the east or the west. There were people who publicised this belief that we would not be able to accomplish anything unless we were inclined to the Soviet Union, and there were other people who publicised the same belief though they had good-will. There are also other people who publicised this same belief while they were agents of foreign powers. Now we have a nation which has succeeded in accomplishing that which was considered to be impossible. We have a nation that has stood against the United States and which expelled it from here. Many people thought this to be something entirely impossible. Never before the Islamic Revolution did I encounter any person who said that such a thing as the Iranian nation

has done today would be possible at all. A nation can reach whatever it wants, but even today the agents of the foreign powers are trying afresh to revive the same old tradition into the minds of our people: that we are not experts, that we don't have the necessary academic background and that therefore we are not capable of accomplishing anything. Well, some years ago Japan was in a similar situation. They did not have anything in their country. But today the Japanese are competing with the Americans. They are marketing much of their own products in the United States. They succeeded in doing the impossible, and so has India. India is an advanced country now because long ago the Indians realised that they did not have to be a dependent country.

IMAM: ISLAMIC REPUBLIC EXISTS IN FACT AS WELL AS IN NAME

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, on February 16, 1981, received groups of the citizenry at the Hosseiniyeh Mosque of Jamaran in Tehran. The following is the text of a translation of his speech to the group:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I would like to thank the various groups who are uncomfortably seated here and wish to express my apology to all of you for not mentioning each and every group by name, since our guests here are too many therefore if I decided to mention the name of each group my memory would probably fail me in trying to recall the name of each of the groups present here. I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord for the good health of all of you and I beg your leave to discuss with you certain topics of the day.

You all know that ever since its triumph our Islamic Revolution has been the target of incessant attacks: attacks in various forms ranging from military incursions and what not. But by far the worst kind of attack against this Revolution has been those launched by tongues and pens. These attacks continue to the present day and will probably continue in the future as well. What the mal-wishers are publishing among the people today is propaganda aimed at disseminating the notion among the masses to the effect that this regime is just another monarchical regime in disguise: one with a misnomer. Today I would like to tell you just a few words about the social system in the Islamic Republic and about the government administrators in our system today. Today I would like to recall, by way of comparison, just a few peculiarities in the social and political system of the Islamic Republic so that we may see whether this system does in any way resemble that of the old regime as is alleged by some of our writers and scrawlers who crave for the return of the past regime.

As a matter of course I do not intend to purge persons or organs for I, like any knowledgeable government administrator acknowledge the shortcomings and the deficiencies which exist, and that throughout our country we witness examples of things being done against the principles of the Islamic Republic. There is no denial of that, nor am I in a position to deny those things. But I would like to say something here in response to the malicious propaganda published by the people claiming that this Islamic Republic exists only 'in name,' that it does not have

any factual existence or that it is a misnomer for the past monarchical regime or is something even worse than that. I would like to say a few words about this system and about the government administrators in this system. I would like to draw a comparison for the people who claim that this system is the same old monarchical system, only called by a misnomer. I would like to say something in reply to those who claim that the Islamic Republic is a misnomer for the past monarchical regime. And I would like you to see whether such allegations are not uttered by the people who themselves are attached to the past monarchical regime and who do not personally profit from this regime as they did during the past regime. 1

The head of state in the past monarchical regime was a Mr. Aryamehr. At that time there was a shah and his family and today we have Mr. Bani-sadr to compare with him. Why? Because in the Islamic Republic the person of the President is the highest authority in power. Let us compare the two persons and their families in order to see whether this person, who is at the head of the state today, is not totally different from the ex-Shah, not that I claim that everything is absolutely as it should be, but rather because I only intend to expose to you how very unfair are the people who utter such things. Let us compare all our government administrators today with those in the past regime. Are our administrators today in any way similar to those of the past regime? Do these people today have the same material benefits and do they deposit money earned on the resources of this country in their own personal accounts in foreign banks? Are they the likes of the past administrators who led luxury lives here, who lived in very large private villas and gardens, who held large estates and who were involved in the pomp and circumstance of the past regime? Let us compare the simple life-style of our President with the head of state in the past regime. Has our nation toppled a supercilious monarch who along with his family who plundered the resources of this nation for the west, who gave away our oil to the foreign powers and substituted in his place another "His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah, Aryamehr?" Is the office of our President similar to the office of the ex-Shah? Is he a plunderer as were they? Does his family live in the same way as did the family of the ex-Shah? You have seen their (the ex-Shah and his family's) palaces in Tehran and elsewhere in and outside of the country, and you remember that they had erected such magnificent buildings as his lodgings in some cities which he might visit only a couple of times every year. Does your Mr. Banisadr live in that way today? Has he build up costly and gigantic buildings in each and every city today in anticipation of a 2-hour incidental stop-over in those places someday in the future? Does he have houses of his own other than the one, which to my knowledge, he has inherited from his father? Does his family live in the same pomp and circumstance as did the family of the ex-Shah? Is there anybody in his family like Ashraf Pahlavi(2) or Farah (3) or Shams Pahlavi (4)? Does he have brothers like the brothers of that man (the ex-Shah) who ruled in their kingdom here? Does he have such brothers each of whom are ruling here and of whose existence we are uninformed? We address

1

Aryamehr was the honorific title of Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the ex-Shah, which was conferred on him by the Majlis in 1965, here used with sarcasm.

2

sister of the ex-Shah

3

wife of the ex-Shah

4

sister of the ex-Shah

those who claim that the Islamic Republic is the same as the past monarchical system and only a misnomer and challenge them to tell us how the content of this regime is similar to that of the past regime.

He is only one man among the other people who are heading the state. You see what a life he is leading. You see that he has consecrated his whole life to the service of the nation. Did they do anything like this in their days here?

Is the content of the Islamic Republic the same as past governments in the past monarchical regime? Are our Cabinet Ministers and our Prime Minister the likes of those in the past regime? Is what we have here today a monarchical regime with a different name? Is Mr. Rajaie the likes of Azhari (5) or Bakhtiar (6) or Sharif Emami (7)? Does Mr. Rajaie now employ the same pomp and circumstance as did others before him? Is he massacring the people without us being informed? Whatever evil has he done which has been kept from the awareness of the people? Has he done anything wrong which has been brought only to the exclusive knowledge of these biased writers? Does Mr. Rajaie and the rest of our Cabinet Ministers live in the same manner as did the likes of Azhari, Sharif Emami and Bakhtiar? Are they committing crimes in the name of the Islamic Republic?

Those who claim that the Islamic Republic has not changed anything must consider Mr. Rajaie as being the likes of Bakhtiar: a person who ordered a public massacre even at the moment he was fleeing the country, or would regard him as a counterfeit of Azhari and his likes. Have we faked a sham system on the people in the name of the Islamic Republic? Are we calling somebody the 'Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic' who really is of the stock of past prime ministers (during the past regime)?

It would serve you good to go and see how our Prime Minister and his Cabinet Ministers live today and compare their mode of living with their predecessors during the past regime. Look deep into the deeds of the people who are heading the state today and compare their deeds with those of their predecessors in the past regime, and find out for yourself whether the Islamic Republic is the same as the past monarchical regime here. And only then will you realise that here we have a system as different from the past system as are the heavens from the earth. If some people are criticising this government, it is not because the present government is indulging in such corrupt acts as plundering the wealth of the nation or committing massacres or the like of that. They criticise the government for having failed to accomplish as much as is expected of them in certain areas. They criticise the government why it has not yet fully succeeded in eliminating all the problematic phenomena which were created here during a period of more than 50 years. They criticise it for not being capable of 'working a miracle.' Well, even Mr. Rajaie himself does not believe in his Cabinet's capability for 'working miracles' but at least you can see what he is doing. You can see how much they are toiling and you can also see the way they live. You see that he is far different from the profile given of him by certain people who are comfortably seating themselves in their own houses and busying themselves with writing.

5

Ex-Shah's Prime Minister during the Islamic Revolution

6

The last Prime Minister of the ex-Shah during the Islamic Revolution

7

Ex-Shah's Prime Minister during the Islamic Revolution, who was appointed to the post after his predecessor Jamshid Amuzegar. The massacre later known as the 'Black Friday' occurred in the first week of his office in Tehran

Now let us get to the topic of the Majlis. The Majlis (Parliament) is an entity in the Islamic Republic. But you remember - albeit not as many examples as I do - the past parliaments in this country. Are Majlis deputies today like their predecessors in the past regime? Are they the same sort as they were during the past regime? Has our nation voted for a group of people similar to the Majlis deputies in the past regime? And are they busy compiling the same laws as their predecessors did during the past regime? Is our Islamic Consultative Assembly (Majlis) a misnomer for something the same as its predecessor during the past regime? Is this a misnomer for the Aryamehr type of Majlis? Is this precisely what the nation thinks about the things which exist today, or does it merely represent the judgement of a handful whose interests have suffered in this system? Did our people rise up in order to do away with a monarchical system in this country and to replace it with just another system similar to that of monarchy? Did our people voluntarily choose to topple one monarchy in order to substitute in its place another monarchy? Did they choose to give so many of their youth as martyrs just in order to establish another monarchical regime under a different name?

Are the facts represented in the writings of our dissident writers who, in effect, are scandalising themselves? Is our Majlis Speaker today like the Majlis Speakers in the past regime? Even those of the Majlis Speakers in the past regime who ranked themselves among the 'Nationalists' led such luxurious lives with all the pomp and circumstance typical of the past regime.

Another entity of our system today is the judicial branch of the government and the High Council of Jurisdiction. Are our magistrates and the heads of our courts and the rest of our judicial organs the likes of those in the past regime? Do people not remember the typical situation in our justice system in the past regime? Are our judges today like the judges in the past regime, like those judges who have now been purged? Is Mr. Musavi Ardebili (8) like the heads of the Public Prosecutor Office during the past regime? You recall that last Friday he officiated as the leader of the Friday congregational prayers in Tehran while multitudes of our people were standing behind him. Would people stand behind his predecessors to pray during the past regime? Did our people intend to fool the world or did they intend to make a laughing stock of themselves? Have they removed one despot to replace him with another despot? Have they removed one 'unjust' judge in order to reinstate in his place another unjust judge? Have they removed one Justice of the Supreme Court in order to put in his place just another despotic Justice? Do these people today do the same things as their predecessors in the past regime and do they live in the same manner as their predecessors did during the past regime?

Now the people must study all the present undercurrents in order to establish for themselves whether such ballyhoos are being done by certain groups for defaming and discrediting other groups. Now, coming to the question of our judges: I hate to mention here that in the past regime they also had Communist judges. There were examples of such judges who were instated in the offices of religious courts in this country, and there were even worse judges. Are members of our judiciary council the same as they were in the past regime? Do we have the same courts today? As a matter of course, I do not mean to say here that the whole of our judges throughout the country are precisely qualified judges, but I mean only to challenge those who claim that what we have here is another monarchical regime with a misnomer. I want to ask them whether in their

judgement we are only claiming to have something which does not exist in reality. I want to know whether such people like that think that here is a nation of imbeciles who toppled a monarchical regime with their own hands just because they wanted to substitute in its place another monarchical regime? Admittedly there are deficiencies in our judicial system throughout the country but I want to ask whether it is such that would justify our calling this government just another monarchy in disguise?

Another organ of the government is the radio and television. Is our radio and television today the same as it was in the time of Reza Khan? You remember what the radio and television were like at the time of Mohammad Reza (the ex-Shah). Are our radio and television the same as they were during the past regime? Have our radio and television networks changed in their names only? Do they broadcast the same programs and the same shows and show the same films? Though admittedly they have not yet been able to put it right as much as expected.

Now let us see about our Armed Forces today. Let us start with the higher echelons down to our friends who are gathering here today. Are our Army Commanders the same as they were during the past regime? The Generals, the Major Generals and down below? Do our army officers today live in the same manner as did General Batmanqelich? (9) Have we replaced that man with another of his like under a different name? Is what we have today another system like the past regime? Have there been no changes for the better?

Now what about the status of our Gendarmerie today? Is our Gendarmerie today the same as it was in the time of Reza Khan? It is related that once Reza Khan went to a garrison and while he was led along a tour of the garrison he held both his hands in his pockets lest somebody would pick his pocket, despite the fact that he himself was the leader of all pick-pockets! Now whoever among you knows anything about the state of the Gendarmerie in that time knows that there is a great difference between what we have today and what we had in that time.

Did our nation stand up to do away with a bunch of tyrants and plunderers just in order to establish in their place another group of tyrants and plunderers or are the people who are claiming so in their writings themselves deviates? Now let us see about the state of our police stations. Whoever among you happened to go to a police station during the past regime knows fully well what problems he would often face while trying to file a complaint against somebody in a police station. At that time the people all dreaded the police stations. They dreaded the police stations even more than they dreaded the corner street pick-pockets and the stabbers. Do we have the same situation in the present day, or is it that some of our writers today are craving for the return of the same old system? To them I can only say that they are busying themselves with only a tumultuous dream.

These same people who claim to be supporters of Islam took pains to appear as bystanders and indifferent people in the face of the invasion against Lebanon and Palestine by Israel and before the many crimes which were committed against them. Are they really concerned about the affairs of the Muslims? The Muslims throughout the world are being

Army General and anti-Mosaddeq activist who was arrested by Mossaddeq on August 16, 1953 and who on August 19 following the fall of Mossaddeq was released from prison and appointed Chief of Staff by the ex-Shah.

trampled under the boots of the supporters of the big powers, while these so-called Muslims are looking the other way. However, can we consider them as being Muslim? But this has precedence even in history. The people who martyred Imam Ali, peace be upon him, while he was saying his prayers in the mosque did so in the name of Islam and so did the people who attacked the army of Islam in the early days of Islam and who attacked Imam Ali, peace be upon him. There were so many people who have fought Islam in the name of "Islam", and likewise does Saddam claim to be a Muslim. He has invaded an Islamic nation under the name of Islam. He has martyred several thousands of our youth and made some two million people homeless in the name of Islam in his own country. He is doing to Islam that which the Mongols did to Iran. There are always too many people who have their own claims and the examples of those people in our day are not few.

I would like to express my condolences to you youngsters who have lost your fathers due to the tyranny of the oppressors and I will like you to consider us as sharing your sorrow with you. We share your sorrow with you because we too are uninformed as yet about the fate of Mr. Musa Sadr. We share the sorrow of the Iraqi people in bearing the cruel killing of Mr. Bagher Sadr and his dear sister. We share the sorrow of all the oppressed people throughout the world and we are the supporters of the oppressed people. It is the task of the oppressed peoples of the world to rise up to revolt against the oppressors instead of sitting back and relying on what their governments have promised to do for them.

May God Almighty ever more strengthen Islam and the Muslims and may He make you, our brothers and sisters, who have become homeless, victorious. May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM DENOUNCES INDIFFERENCE OF MUSLIM LEADERS

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, received the families of martyrs from Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria and the Polisario Movements at Hosseiniyeh Jamaran on February 18, 1981. A translation of the full text of the speech of the Imam to the bereaved families follows:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

Today I see before me the faces of many innocent children who have become orphans due to the tyranny of the superpowers. There are many claims; there are too many people, who claim to be Muslims. All of the leaders of the Muslim countries claim to be Muslim and claim to be humanitarians and partial to human rights. All of the leaders of the world have this claim. This is nothing new. Even in the early days of Islam there were much the same claims by many people but when the time of trial came, the claimants did not prove their faith in practice. The Kharajites too made much of the same claims and too had Amr al-As and the likes of him. And today Saddam Hussein has made the same claims and also the claim of promoting the interest of the Arabs, as do his treacherous brothers, like Sadat and the likes of him. But when you study their acts you will see that there is a wide gap between

what they say and what they do. These Muslims, and these people who claim to be supporters of Islam convened in the Taif Conference under the name of Islam. They convened in the place from which Islam arose, that is, the city of Hijaz, but what did they say and what did they do during this Conference? Did it occur to them to mention the names of these innocent orphans who have lost their fathers as a result of the cruel acts of the Zionists? Did it occur to them to mention or to say anything about the criminal acts which are being done in the south of Lebanon, or in other Muslim nations which are under the oppression of the superpowers and their dependents? Is it that these so-called supporters of Islam are ignorant of what is happening in the Muslim nations? Don't they see the trampling of the rights of the Muslim nations under the boots of the superpowers? Don't they know what is happening in the south of Lebanon, in Iran, in Iraq and elsewhere in the Muslim nations and how the people are being treated in those countries and how many small children have become orphans and refugees? Didn't the leaders participating in the Taif Conference know these facts? They convened under one and the same roof and talked about anything but Islam and they enjoyed the pomp and the circumstance typical of the aristocrats without being in the slightest concerned about Islam and the affairs of the Muslim nations. Didn't they know of this Prophetic hadith that a Muslim who should rise up in the morning without having concerned himself with the welfare of other Muslims during the night past should not truly be called a Muslim? Did the leaders who assembled in the Taif Conference in a place which was the place of the Prophet of God and the Prophet of Islam, concern themselves with the affairs of the Muslim nations? What did they say about Islam? And what did they say about the Muslims? And what did they do in order to improve the status of the Muslims? Can we ever regard these people as being Muslims if we reflect upon the meaning of that Prophetic hadith? Did they ever talk about the Muslim peoples who have become homeless and refugees due to the tyranny of the superpowers and their dependents and about the innocent little children? Did they talk about the invasion against Lebanon and Palestine by Israel? Did they discuss the invasion against the Islamic Republic of Iran by Iraq just because here is the nation who has done away with the supercilious past regime and which wants to establish in its place an Islamic government?

As you see there are so many people who claim to be Muslims and who claim to be supporters of the Islamic doctrines and so are the people who claim to be concerned about so-called human rights. Carter too represented himself as being much concerned about human rights but did he in practice respect the principles of human rights? And so did the deposed Shah of Iran who claimed to be a supporter of human rights and who enjoyed the support of the big powers. Did the countries which imposed the Pahlavi Dynasty on us respect human rights? And did they respect Islam and the Muslim people? Didn't they know what Zionism has done to Lebanon and Palestine? And were they not partners with the Zionists in doing such acts? There are too many people who make many claims whereas the number of true Muslims and of people concerned about the affairs of the Muslims is very few. The nations themselves should think about Islam. We have despaired of the larger group of the leaders of the Islamic nations but still believe that it is the task of the peoples themselves to think of themselves. We are not disappointed nor have we despaired over them. The people of many countries voiced their support for the Islamic Republic of Iran during the invasion by Iraq, whereas only a few governments voiced the same support. Many of them approved of the tyranny of the forces of irreligion over Islam, while many others just sat back or claimed to be indifferent bystanders

while they were watching this incursion of the army of irreligion against Islam.

IMAM ADDRESSES DEFENSE MINISTRY PERSONNEL

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, received a group of members of the Islamic Associations of the Defense Ministry and the personnel of the Political and Ideological Office of the Ground Force of the Islamic Republic, in Tehran on February 26, 1981. Below is the translation from the text of the Imam's speech to the group of the visiting personnel:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

I hope that this union of people will augment the unity of our souls. It is good to unite, to come together in such things as seminars, and other types of gatherings. But we should make sure that our physical conventions will serve as a means whereby we can all pursue one and the same spiritual, and moral destination. It is not enough for us to gather together here or there, but then to be negligent of the destination which Islam has set for man and which is recommended by the Blessed and Supreme Lord and to which the Prophets had consecrated themselves. Our dialogues and our discourses should be capable of elevating us to lofty morality. They should transcend us to the ideology of 'tawhid' (monotheism) and to unity of expression. It is easy to hold assemblies, meetings, and seminars with the participation of people from all walks of the life, such as the ulema, the rank and file members of the Armed Forces and of the Islamic Associations, but such an endeavour will not be inclusive of all measures for getting the results we are after. You should ensure that such assemblies and gatherings will serve you as a means for bringing about the unity which is fundamental in every Muslim society to which the Prophets attached so much importance, and to which God has ordered man. And this is simpler to achieve in the lower social classes of the people of a nation than it is among the so-called higher classes. Why? Because man is such a creature that when left unattended, uncared for, and unbridled, and when left to himself like a weed, and left uneducated, the older he grows in age and the higher he ascends in social dignity the lower, too, will become his morality. The spiritual values in such men will be subjugated by the greatest Devil, which is the devil in one's own spirit. Our youth have a fresh covenant with the Kingdom of God, and they are a mightier mass. But the older they grow, and the higher they ascend in secular dignity the further they will be removed from the Kingdom of God unless they engage in holy struggles and give themselves the right education. They are likely to plunge deeper into the abyss of ignorance. Therefore, all education should be started from early childhood, and wherever man is, he should have access to teachers who can give him the right education, for man needs to be educated throughout his life.

That was why the Prophets were sent down to men by the Blessed Supreme Lord. They came here so that they could give man the education that he needs. The entire scriptures delivered by the Prophets and especially our Holy Qur'an, aim at giving man the education that he needs. No devil, no beast, and no creature is as hazardous to society as can

be an educated man. And likewise, no angel, and no creature is capable of doing as much good for the society as an educated man can. A principal foundation for the edifice of the universe is the education of man. Man is the essence of all creatures and the symbol of all the universe. The Prophets were sent down to earth in order to direct man's potential in the right path, so that he will become a godly being. This godly being embodies all of the descriptions of God Most High, and is a manifestation of His holy radiance.

Do your best in order to ensure that you will pursue moral values whenever and wherever you gather, and remember the education that the Prophets gave Man. In the opening Sura of the Holy Qur'an you read 'All praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds'. You see that the keynote in the first Sura of the Holy Qur'an is the idea of 'Divinity'. It was made incumbent on us to utter this verse in each unit of our daily prayers several times a day. It is also incumbent on us to take note of the education and Divinity which in its most sublime and ideal form is peculiar to the Blessed and Supreme Lord, and which is reflected from Himself to His great Prophets and from them to other men. It is such an important thing that even in the opening Sura of the Holy Qur'an God is described as being the 'Rabbelamin'(1).

In the same Sura you read that the ideal destination to be pursued in any form of education is one which will lead '...in the Right Path', and the final destination of that 'Right Path' is Total Perfection, that is, God. Men have been called upon to bring themselves under the education of the Prophets and under the education of the great Saints so that they can be guided in the Right Path. It is a Divine decree on us to implore the Blessed and Supreme Lord to guide us in the Right Path, neither inclined to the left nor inclined to the right, nor 'the path upon whom Thy wrath is brought down, nor of those who go astray.'

We should remember that we are creatures which, if left to ourselves to grow, would be the most evil, and the most misguided of all creatures, and that if we were to be guided in the right path and were to be given the right education we will reach a destination so lofty as is unfathomable to us: the sea of sublimity, the sea of Divinity.

These seminars should be followed by much reflection and by efforts for exploring ways and means to fulfill such aims. We should pursue the idea of unity of expression and remember that this unity takes shape in the Word of God. We should convene under the same motto and under God. Once men have come together under the Blessed word of God once they have broken all idols they will have achieved all their lofty ideals: be they ideals for this world and for mankind in this world or the more lofty ideals for the Hereafter. We experienced in the past two or three years that when we did not think of the Blessed and Supreme Lord as one and a single society, though we thought of Him individually, we did not succeed in accomplishing anything. At that time we were under the burden of oppression and, we were besieged by the plunderers of the world and we passed through a much detested period under their claws and the claws of their vassals. But we witnessed the unification of the physical bodies in one and the same single soul. We saw how the people revolted and how gradually they were transcended above division into unity in our city streets, in our towns and in our villages. At that time these physical beings took to the streets and demanded the establishment of the rule of Islam and God. They denounced cruelty and oppressors, and the cruel people who intended to continue plundering this nation and who had done so during long years before. The Blessed and the Supreme Lord decreed His Dispensation on us; we, you and us and the whole nation came together as one and a single physical

(1) 'Rab' is the Arabic word for God. It also means 'Master' (Teacher, Tutor), and hence 'the Master of the two worlds'.

body and one single soul. The people took to the streets, our men, our women, our elders and our youngsters. At that time this nation shared one and a single destination; and cried the same slogan of 'Allah-o-Akbar' (God is Great). In their slogans they also shouted anthems unto the people who were plundering this nation: 'Death to the Criminals and to the plunderers'. they said. They shouted that they wanted the establishment of Islamic rule and of the Islamic Republic here: a republic which both ensures the citizens their freedom and their independence.

We should always keep alive the memory of those gatherings and the memory of that great reformation which we witnessed in ourselves. We should remember that which helped us to triumph... that which made us triumph with empty hands was the unity of our physical bodies as well as the unity of our expression. Those people were the same people who one year before (the Islamic Revolution) were subjected to the transgression of foreigners and to the aggression of the people who were lackeys to the foreign powers, while they were unable to anything. But by the dispensation of God they were transformed into invulnerable beings. It was due to our unity of expression and as well as the unity of our physical bodies that the people were transformed from one state to another and that they eventually achieved a triumph which was far beyond fathoming. Nobody could think of our people achieving such things within such a short span of time and with such little toil, little with respect to the dignity of the thing achieved. This should truly be called a miraculous work.

Therefore we must remember this at all times. We must remember the slogans written on the placards throughout our country; the slogans which recall the Qur'anic message of 'Allah-o-Akbar' (God is Great), and which remind us of our consecration to the ideals of safeguarding the people's freedom, the country's independence and the perpetuation of the Islamic Republic. Those slogans set the model for us as well as for our descendents to follow, so that, God willing, never again in the future will they (2) be capable of bringing us under their domination. This is an important fact for you to note, but even more important is it for our statesmen in authority. They should take note that the key to our triumph was this same unity of expression. They should remember that if they are given office or whatsoever position it is for the purpose of enabling them to work for these same people who revolted under the one and the same motto and who shouted 'Freedom, Independence, and the Establishment of the Islamic Republic'. At that time the people did not follow their own personal motives. This was besides the point. Nobody thought of himself, they were all devoted to one and the same destination. If they could not find food to eat in the course of the day, they did not get annoyed from it. They did not care a bit about their food or about their clothing. A great many of them would lose their shoes or their caps or other pieces of their attire or would even lose their small children (3), but they did not care as though they had detached themselves from these things and found eternity in their destination. That was the idea. This is the idea. You were transcended above your material being towards a destination with God. You forgot yourselves, and it is this self-adnegation, that sets the preface to the path of man's perfection.

Our people and especially our statesmen in authority should be ever conscious of the fact that as long as they look inwardly with a view of satisfying their own ambitions they cannot be deemed human beings. This is the ultimate destination of Creation and the

(2) foreign powers

(3) Reference to incidental events in mass demonstrations during the peak of the Islamic Revolution.

ultimate goal of all the prophets.

My dear bretheren, and my dear people! I urge you to take note, as I urge the rest of the nation to do so, of the critical situation in our country today. Today the whole of the world powers are rising against us, and we are finding ourselves confronted with conspiracies from here and there; conspiracies from within and from outside of the country. You, as well as the rest of the nation should remember that if they mean to remain as an independent and free nation they should abandon their personal goals at least for some times in the future so that they will thereby thwart the conspiracies that are in the making against us now. The people should all adopt and pursue one and the same goal. This is especially true with those who hold higher offices and also with us who are here.

I would also like to draw your attention to another issue: you know that presently our youth are sacrificing their own lives in the war fronts along the frontiers and you know how many of our youth we have lost in the battlefields and how many of our people have become invalids or are suffering from physical and other ailments, or how many of our families have been driven away from their homes who are now scattered throughout the various parts of the country. You know that great multitudes of our youth have been sacrificed from each and every city in this country and that there is not one city in this country which did not contribute to the nation's share of martyrs. Much affliction has touched us but in the face of all that I hope, God willing, that this period of austerity will be followed by one in which our nation will find dignity and greatness bestowed upon it. In the meanwhile I, with respect to the now approaching Ruz (4), I would like to ask the nation to minimize the New Year's celebrations and to cut back on extravagance, or if possible, eliminate the ceremonies in their entirety. It would not be fair for us and for others to indulge in boisterous revelry while many of our people are suffering from the afflictions of death of members of their families, while they were firmly standing on their ground. The principles of Islam, of humanity make it incumbent on us to hold ourselves in check against indulging in anything which might aggravate those parents who have lost their sons and daughters. If there is any person who intends to hold lavish festivities on the occasion of the coming of the New Year he would be wise to think first of how he would be feeling if he had lost a member of his family and saw the other people indulging in boisterous revelry in the New Year.

Remember that you brothers and the people in this country are bereaved: they have lost their youth and are agonized by such catastrophies. True, they are brave men and women, but after all they are suffering from the painful sorrow of the loss of young members of their families. Imagine yourselves going shopping for the New Year and purchasing luxury items for yourselves while some 50 of the youth of your city were killed during this same time and many other families were mourning the death of their kin. Such acts would not correspond with the principles of Islam and your brotherhood.

Therefore I would like you to hold this New Year's celebrations as simply as you can and by remaining as far from luxurious expenditures as it is possible. Instead of buying unnecessary things for this coming New Year I would urge you to go and visit our invalids in the hospitals and the war refugees in the various parts of the country who need your care and attention. Prove your brotherhood to them and show them the sympathy with which you have for your brothers in faith. Suppose you chose to go on a vacation, and spend some days in revelry. That vacation will come to an end, but the agonizing effects of witnessing that revelry and ecstasy will remain forever in the toiling hearts of our mothers and

sisters. The Blessed and Supreme Lord favors those hearts which are suffering from such pains. I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord to make us ever bound to our duties, and to help us maintain our unity of expression.

I also wish to have a word of reminder to the personnel of our Armed Forces, our Gendarmerie, our Islamic Revolutionary Guards, our tribal people, who are all Muslims and who are invariably sacrificing themselves for the cause of Islam. I request them to work with each other in full coordination. Should they scatter in groups, each group fighting the enemy forces independently of others they will thereby delay final victory. They should not alienate themselves from the rest of the nation nor consider themselves as being soldiers in the army of Islam there will be no division between the nation and the Armed Forces, as there is not. It would be an inopportune moment in the history of our country today to try to refer to oneself as an Islamic Revolutionary Guard in distinction against the personnel of the Armed Forces or vice versa. We should all be soldiers in the Army of Islam, and proceed to work harmoniously and in full coordination with one another, as you see that our youth, our women, our men and our elders are all doing something in the various parts of the country so that our Armed Forces would continue to work in a peaceful atmosphere. They are providing them with what they need in the battlefronts so that our Armed Forces may continue to serve the nation. You people, who are active in the war fronts and who are sacrificing your lives there, should be as coordinated and harmonious with other forces as the rest of the nation is behind the fronts. You are working for God, before Him, and therefore you should unite and close your ranks for God's sake. Consider your peers as being members of your own group

I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord for the good health and prosperity of this nation and of all Muslim nations and of all people who are consecrated to the task of serving Islam. May God make you triumph over your enemies in this war, and may the Blessed and Supreme Lord be a Supporter to all of us.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be Upon you.

IMAM ADDRESSES 8-MAN DELEGATION

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, on March 1, 1981, said to members of the 8-man Delegation to Iran that neither he, nor the Iranian President, nor any other statesmen to authority in Iran was authorised to enter into negotiations for a compromise with the Iraqi government against the will of the Iranian people. He added that Saddam Hussein has repeatedly accused the Islamic Republic of Iran of aggression in blatant disregard of the transgression of his own troops in the Iranian territories. The following is a translation from the text of the Imam's speech to the visiting delegation given at the Imam's residence in Jamaran.

(4) Iranian New Year commencing on March 21st is celebrated with festivities throughout the nation for five days.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I would like to thank you gentlemen for having come to visit Iran to get a first-hand view of what is happening in this country, if you can find an opportunity for that. And I would like to thank you for the efforts that you will take in distinguishing the oppressor from the oppressed.

If I decide to give you even a short account of what afflictions have touched this nation to date I am afraid I will thereby do something to the detriment of my own health and will also go beyond the time available to you. Therefore I think it would suffice to tell you in brief just a few points.

I hope that the Muslims, and especially the Muslim leaders, will abandon the practice of voicing slogans in proof of their attachment to Islam as a cover-up for their disrespect for Islam and instead think of Islam in its reality, and comply with its decrees. The Muslim nations have so far suffered much because their leaders have long since shouted their attachment to Islam as a cover for justifying their un-Islamic acts. They have pursued entirely different goals under the pretext of Islam. I hope the Muslim nations and their leaders will transcend themselves from the pronouncement of beliefs to an Islamic conscience and fulfillment of the Islamic decrees and the Holy Qur'an. You are now in a country which was under pressure and oppression for 2,500 years, and which for a long period suffered under the boots of the oppressive Sultans in the name of justice, civilisation and humanity. You are now in a country whose people were long intent on ridding themselves from the burden of injustice, and on acquiring independence and freedom by themselves. You are now in a country whose people were for a long time being oppressed without enjoying freedom at all, and whose people witnessed their rights being trampled upon in the name of Islam and by the big powers.

Those who were lackeys of the big powers would not let our people here take even one single breath in an atmosphere of freedom. You are now in a country and among a nation which has given almost 60,000 martyrs and more than 100,000 cripples and invalides, and which has some 50,000 families who have lost their bread-winners. You are among a nation which has suffered from such afflictions. You are in a country which has, in reality, almost 1.5 million war refugees who have been driven out of their cities and their own houses and to whom every sort of tyranny and injustice has been done.

You are now in a country which is being invaded by tyrants and oppressors who are attached to the big powers and who have suddenly crossed our borders and are occupying some of our cities by force. They have killed all of our youth who were at the fronts or have taken many of them captive. You are in a country which is suffering from the inroads of the super-powers just because this oppressed nation has been intent on cutting off the hands of the big powers which were busy conspiring here against the principles of Islam and on doing away with a criminal regime and establishing in its place a government of its own choice. And you fully well know that the super-powers loath to see the Muslim nations coming together and they dread the coming together of one billion Muslim people of the world under one and the same banner, and that (for this reason) they have launched every kind of attack against us. They have tried military attacks as well as acts of conspiracy against our state and an attempted coup d'etat and lately another military attack by one of their lackeys with the name of Saddam.

You are in a country in which the oppressed are finding themselves confronted with the oppressor, a country whose people are confronted with

Let them see whether or not we are transgressors or whether we have been invaded by them. Should you conclude that we are transgressors and that we have started this war then you can fight against us and should you conclude otherwise then we expect you to join us in our fight against them. Islam and unbelief can come to no compromise. No Muslim anywhere in the world should ever think that there can ever be a compromise between Islam and the non-Muslims. The Divine decrees should be enacted. We should all be followers of the text of the Holy Qur'an and you should not let yourself believe that there is a government in this country which is despotic and which may compromise with a power which is an enemy to this nation. Do not allow yourself to think that here we have a despotic President who may enter into negotiations with others on his own free will or that he is a despotic person who may indulge in doing anything against the will of the nation. It is the rule of the nation which is dominant here and it is the nation here which has control of the government. Our governmental organs have been selected by our nation and we have no right whatsoever to do anything against the will of the nation.

Should you be on a mission for bringing this war to an end, which is the aspiration of all the Muslims, you should call the aggressor government to trial and you should punish the transgressors. You should expel the foreign troops which are in our country and make Saddam and his troops leave our territories. Once he has stopped his transgression against us you can then assign an international body to investigate the crimes which have been committed here. Should that body find us to be the criminals we should be punished, and should they find Saddam to be so then it is he who must be punished. This is the order of Islam. Islam has ordered us to be together and united at all times and to prevent any schism and any division among us. We have been ordered by Islam to go beyond the mere voicing of slogans and join together in practice and in reality. It would not suffice us to sit together in gatherings and seminars and to issue general verdicts. We must see to it that what we seek and what we intend to do is then enacted. You should ask yourselves whether the people who sat together in the Taif Conference and talked about our oppressed people or about the oppressed people in Palestine or those in Lebanon, whether they did anything there by way of aiding these Muslims? It will not suffice us to come together as Muslims and to shout pseudo-Islamic slogans. You cannot judge people by what they preach but rather by what they practice. Mohammad Reza (the ex-Shah) shouted the same slogans more than many others and today Saddam Hussein has outdone him in his own slogans and so are other people who are unjustly ruling over the oppressed Muslims. They all shout and preach but should you indeed have goodwill and if you have come here truly to put out this fire you should then investigate and then sit down for arbitration. You should go to our frontiers and see whatever is happening there and you should see what is happening on this side of our frontiers as well. You study our nation and also study the Iraqi nation and find out for yourselves whether the Iraqi nation approves of their ruling government there. You should see the Iranian nation and find out for yourselves whether this nation wholeheartedly approves of the government here or not. You should find out whether our people approve of our President or of our Prime Minister or of the Majlis (Parliament) or not. Should you find out that our nation totally approved of everything in relation with the ruling government here then this government is a legal government but should you find out that they disapproved of it then this would be an illegal government. If there are people who claim that the principles of human rights should be enacted among the nations then we would welcome your making a referendum here under your

own surveillance in order to determine whether or not this nation approves of this government, of this Majlis or of this President. Then you can go to Iráq and conduct a similar referendum in that country asking its people, without force or threat of punishment, whether or not they approve of their ruling government there. Should the Iranian people disapprove of this government here or of their President or of their Majlis then you can say that those people should go and that the people here should decide for themselves. But should your findings be otherwise you should go to Iraq and conduct the same referendum there with a view to finding out whether they approve of the ruling party in their country, whether they approve of the person of Saddam, who calls himself the President of that country.

Should they approve of all that then you can order us to sit at a table for a compromise with them (the Iraqi government). But if the Iraqi people should voice their disapproval of their ruling government in their country we might as well say that we do not recognize it as being that country's legitimate government. Nobody approves of him except for a bunch of people who are associated with him. Except, perhaps, for the United States and the Soviet Union. You will accomplish nothing by coming together and sitting at a table. You will accomplish nothing by talking and uttering rhetoric. We should all go under one and the same banner of Islam, not in preaching but rather in practice. Only when we have done so can we start working, but as long as such meetings are more ceremonial, one day in Taif and the other day in Iran and still another day in some other location, then the whole thing will continue in much the same vein and the Muslims will forever remain under the oppression of the foreign powers. We shall then be tyrannised over and oppressed and so will you.

Only when the one billion Muslim people of the world with their rich resources have come to themselves and have enacted the tenets of Islam can they rid themselves from the oppression of the big powers.

"If you help the cause of Allah, He will help you and make firm your feet." (Holy Qur'an, Sura 47, Verse 7)

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM ADDRESSES ULEMA FROM WARFRONTS

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, on March 5, 1981, received in Hosseiniyyeh of Jamaran (Tehran) a group of the Ulema of the Islamic Information Dissemination Bureau in Qom and Mashhad who had arrived in Tehran from the western and southern war fronts, as well as a group of youth who had finished their military service between the years 1974 and 1978. The following is a translation of the text of the Imam's speech to the group:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

Although we have but limited time, I would like to discuss certain topics in a few words with you, members of the Muslim ulema, and your brothers in faith and the young blood of Islam. The invisible hands of the world devourers have worked havoc by the agency of the people and groups which have infiltrated the various strata of the Muslim nations throughout the years. They have worked towards fulfilling certain designs

which I am afraid they have carried out with some success to the detriment of the Muslim nations. Among the designs planned and engineered by them has been their propagation of the idea that the mosque should be separated from the state: that our Ulema should live in mosques and corners of seclusion and in a manner isolated from the rest of the society. They propagated this idea that the Ulema should consecrate themselves solely to the task of going to the mosques from their abode and then returning home from the mosques and leading life in total seclusion from whatever is happening around them. In their judgement it was an act below the dignity of the Ulema if a religious scholar should have been found to have involved himself in social or political concerns and this would be looked at as an act against justice and the status of the Muslim Ulema. The duty of the young religious scholar was to crawl into a corner of his school or into the damp and little shacks which formed their abodes and in which they were supposed to learn the rudiments of religion and esoteric studies excluding the parts where such studies had any bearing on the society. Even the wearing of military uniform by members of the Ulema would have been construed as an act not conformable with their religious principles. Also participation in political affairs would be interpreted as an act against the principles of the religious scholar's life. Likewise they said that such and such people who are political-minded should not don the robes of the Ulema.

This idea was promoted for the purpose of isolating the clergy from the rest of the masses and confining them to places of seclusion as well as any tiny little cells in the cloisters of theological schools which were the dwellings of our religious men. It had become an accepted belief among the larger number of our Ulema and among the dominating majority of our people that our Ulema should not interfere in the political and social issues of the country. This idea had been exported here from Europe. They (European statesmen), too, had isolated their clergy and argued that they themselves were permitted to do whatsoever with the people of their own countries and that no one should be permitted to argue with them. The same practice had become a vogue here, as well as in other Muslim countries, that the Muslim Ulema should keep themselves aloof of politics: if they were ever once found to have engaged in a political activity they would have been criticised by their own people as much as by their peers. The idea was that they had to be denied participation in political affairs and that the administration of the affairs of the Muslim nations was a task to be entrusted to the Sultans and their aides.

For years this scheme was put into effect here and elsewhere and its engineers greatly benefitted from it. Had there been no such complicity, or had this complicity not been successfully implemented, our country, as well as other Muslim countries, whose Ulema should have included 'politics' as a principal course in the religious curricula of their theological schools, would not have been entangled in such troubles as they are now. They (the foreign powers) knew all too well that the Muslim Ulema had a great deal of influence over the people and that they were a group of influentials who had the key to the heart of the people and that therefore, they themselves should do something so that the people in these countries would not permit participation in political and social affairs by the Ulema. They also intended to instill this belief in the minds of the Ulema in this country that they should not participate in the political affairs just as the westerners had done with the clerics of their own church. They had separated the church from the state and from their nations and they did the same thing here, and plunged us into a situation which threw us to our present status. But

today the nation has greatly reformed itself and the Blessed and Supreme Lord has had His Divine dispensation on this nation for having bestowed this intellectual reformation in the minds of the people as well as in the minds of the Ulema. Our Ulema today are fighting along with other people and are being martyred. They participate in the social life with their arms and their words and we see today the barriers which prevented our Ulema from participation in social and political activity has now been broken. Thanks be to God today you people and you Ulema of the cities as well as our religious scholars and religious students are all present in the warfronts and are showing tokens of self-sacrifice in your fight against the enemy.

My dear brothers, take note that this conspiracy, which is even underway today, was aimed at isolating you and for dissuading you from the activities in which you are participating today. You should take every precaution lest you might fall in the trap of those who want to suppress the Ulema in this nation and who want to confine you to the corners of schools and make you live as isolated people as you did before. You should be prepared to participate in the political and social affairs of your country and to contribute your own share in solving the problems of the Muslim nation and defending this Islamic nation as much as you should consecrate yourself to the task of learning. You should do your best to thwart this design which had been going on by our enemies in this country for a long time. Our enemies did everything here so that our Ulema would not take part in the political arena. They appointed a great many so-called scholars in various universities, colleges and schools here who preached doctrines against the Islamic faith and who deviated our youth from the Right Path. They prevented our Ulema from working for the nation and for Islam and they alienated our youth from them. They had deployed our youth against the Ulema and exploited them by bringing them against one another. Thanks be to God, this barrier too was finally broken down with a result that our Ulema are now proceeding along with our university staffs and our university students, and that, they too, are one with the Ulema and busy with their political, social and war-time activities.

Take heed lest someday some people might come to you with the idea of criticising our university students or our university staffs! Our college students and our university staff too should take heed lest some people might come to them for ruining their good opinion of their Ulema. Such things would be neither in the interest of our Ulema nor in the interest of our university educators but only to the interest of the superpowers. The superpowers will not wash their hands from the Muslim nations so soon, nor will they wash their hands of this nation which for long provided them with much mineral resources and in which everything was done to safeguard their interests. Right now their hands have been cut off from this country but still they will not wash their hands of us very soon.

My dear people, my brothers and sisters in faith, and my fellow countrymen! Take heed of the conspiracies which are underway in order to discredit the Ulema in the eyes of the people in order to alienate the people from the Ulema, or our universities from our Ulema, and also take note of the designs which are being underway by our foreign enemies for replacing this government with another seemingly Islamic regime whose true intent might be against Islam and which will work against the interest of the nation. Today we can see the implementation of the satanic tricks of the superpowers being done here for the purpose of alienating the people from the Ulema and vice versa or to alienate both of them from our university students and from our youngsters for the purpose of isolating our Ulema and confining them in their cloister cells

at their schools or in their own mosques so that later they (foreign powers) themselves will administer the affairs of this country.

Who are the people that are against the Ulema? Wherever they are are they not the same people who took to the various garrisons and police stations in the hectic final day of the Revolution and who looted firearms and who still possess those arms? Are they not the same people who were sitting still at a time when the whole nation was rising up here? And are they not the same people who are sitting back today expecting to see Iraq triumph over us so that they can join the conquering army?

Our Ulema today are present in the political scene. I now see before me a group of our Ulema who have just returned from the warfronts with their arms. But in which front are we fighting the people who criticise the Ulema? Was any of them martyred? If there was, bid them to come here and tell us. They looted arms and then said that in order to see Iran defeated. They are the people who want to exploit everything to their own ends and who want to see others, who have given their blood, leave the scene so that they can benefit more. They are a group of deviates, they do not believe in Islam, nor in the Ulema nor in our universities. Therefore, our educators and our students in our universities and in our schools should take heed to further solidify their union with the Ulema. They should consolidate the unity between the universities and the theological schools. You are two groups among our nation on whom the reformation of the whole nation depends. If you two reform yourselves, the whole nation will be reformed and if, God forbid, you let yourselves be isolated as well as those who are capable to do anything good for the nation then it will be the whole nation which will be isolated. Then the foreign powers, whose interests have been suffering here, will come to the arena and will bring to power a seemingly attractive government which will destroy everything here.

My dear brothers and my dear people, as you are capable of preaching justice you should also be capable of holding arms with a view to serving the nation. You should behave in a manner which is typical of Islam and you should present Islam as it really is. Remember that if, God forbid, any person in the robes of the Ulema should issue an order against the principles of Islam he will have thereby isolated the Ulema, and will have prompted pens against our Ulema. Then our mal-intent writers are apt to isolate you from the nation and the nation from you with the idea of doing to this nation that which was done at the time of Reza Khan and his son. Today Islam is in your hand and in the hands of all of us. This is a valuable trust in our hands and should we act in contrast against these principles of good trusteeship we shall then have committed an act of treason against Islam. Treason against Islam is treason against the radiant commandments of the Godhead. It is treason against all the oppressed nations. Our Ulema who are in various parts of our country, and who are participating in various social gatherings throughout our country, and who are showing acts of self-sacrifice, and also those who are studying at schools or those who are teaching in those places including the religious leaders, and those who are in the Islamic tribunals and engaged in judicial activities and also those in the various committees and elsewhere should note that Islam is especially entrusted to them for safe-keeping. They should remember that their deviation, even if it should be manifested by a handful from a few circles, would prod much enmity against Islam and would instigate our enemies to write against us and to exaggerate and blow up insignificant flaws to the public. Your enemies will not say a word about your holy struggles but they are likely to exaggerate your

pitfalls and wash your linen in public. They intend to keep the public uninformed from the news of your holy efforts. I have never seen any report written by those people about your struggles since June 5, 1963, neither any reports or accounts of the stories of your imprisonment, or of the tortures inflicted on you. The pens seem to have been broken when it comes to the tasks of writing such things. But when they see that something unjust has been done in a court of justice or which they should consider to have been deviating from the Islamic tenets they are likely to publish the news of this failure everywhere they go saying that there is a 'dictatorship of the clergy.' This word was coined by the enemies of Islam, by the same people who want to push the Ulema aside and confine them in the mosques making them concentrate only on religious issues and even then only that part of the Islamic issues which are related only to the ritual worship of God and not to the social and political life of the people. But the same people insist that others should be present in the scene and do to this nation that which Mohammad Reza did.

You should wake up and so much the whole nation. Our people should all wake up to these facts. The people who are in the streets, in our bazaars or elsewhere in our factories or in our farmlands should all wake up that this new coinage has been introduced for promoting false ideas. If by 'dictatorship of the clergy' they mean to define those acts of Ulema done for the purpose of administering justice and if it means that sort of act of justice whereby Nasiri and his likes were executed, this is something which has been implemented by Islam. But if by dictatorship they mean that they want to impose something on the nation this is a flat lie. Therefore, those who say such things must tell the people exactly what they mean by this coinage and what kind of dictatorship our Ulema have committed in this country with a view of finding the source of this. You people, who represent the various classes of our Ulema should ensure that whatever the Ulema do corresponds with religious principles and that nothing they do infringes the religious tenets lest such acts might serve as a pretext in the hands of our enemies. It is incumbent on you not to infringe upon the Islamic tenets and I hope you will never do so. It is the duty of the nation to follow the Ulema and not to listen to whatever is said against the Ulema. They should also make an effort to find out where instances exist of what they hear is the dominating dictatorship of the Ulema in this country. Is our President a dictator? Is he indulging in the dictatorial acts or is there any other person among our statesmen who is doing so? Precisely who is here that is the dictator? Is it not the tongues of the group of impious people here which are indulging in dictatorship and are they not trying to weaken our Ulema and our Islamic Republic?

The tongues which assail the Ulema against the Islamic principles and without any religious justification or who assail the Islamic Republic without any reason are the people who want to eliminate the Ulema from the scene with a view to gaining control of a government appealing to the person of Mr. Reagan or perhaps appealing to the Soviet administrators. I warn all our Ulema throughout the country as well as all the people of the country to prevent from wrong-doing any person whom you should find in your circles to be deviating from the Islamic tenets, and throw him out of the circles of the religious scholars. If you fail to do so such acts will mar the dignity of the Ulema which is so dear to Islam and will thereby result in the isolation of Islam. Islam without the Ulema would be much as a country without any doctor. You preachers and you scholars should always strive to guide along the Right Path and prevent others from wrong-doing by using kind words lest

any deviated acts might give an excuse to the people who want to push you away from the scene and lest the pens of our malicious scrawlers will be writing against you for the purpose of belittling every good deed which you have so far done and to attribute to the Ulema any single instance of wrong doing committed by any single religious scholar here. You should purify yourselves and the people who are in our theological schools and as well as our scholars there should make sure that they are purified and that so are their students. I will also like to warn the nation of the conspiracy which is underway against our Ulema. They want to isolate you from the Ulema and to do with you that which was done to you in the time of Mohammad Reza, except under a different garb. Therefore, it is time for you, our university scholars, and our religious scholars and our workers, our government employees, our dignitaries and our men in the street, our men as well as our women, to wake up for the purpose of thwarting this conspiracy and preventing this nation from being deviated from the path of Islam and the path of Divinity and the path of the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him. I would like to reiterate a point here as a word of reminder to our statesmen in authority ranging from our President to down below and to everybody who is doing something in any of our government organs, be he in our Armed Forces, in our Gendarmerie, in our Islamic Revolutionary Guards, or our state police, or be he a member of our tribal people or belonging to any other section of our people! Already hands are operative in order to deploy you against one another. They come to one group and say things against another group and do the same with each and every of our social groups here. There are people in our frontiers, the scene of the shedding of the blood of our youth, who want to estrange and to separate our Armed Forces from our Islamic Revolutionary Guards and who want to separate them both from the Gendarmerie, and vice versa, and who are operative in deploying groups within our own Armed Forces. They are the same people who go to the person of the President and tell him things, seemingly out of goodwill, against others whereas they are devils disguised as human beings. There are also others who go to the Prime Minister and to other people in order to criticise the person of the President. They too are devils, in the shape of humans. The people who want to deploy you against one another, are the people who want to entrust this country to the foreign powers and to kill you all! They want to introduce a government here in the hands of the United States or the Soviet Union.

The principles of political tack make it incumbent on us to check our clashing with those who adhere to the promotion of the same eventual objective, in spite of apparent differences in strategy, so that we may bring quiet to this country and so that the rule of Islam will be dominant here and so that an Islamic Republic will in its true sense take shape here, Inshallah. (God-willing)

I address all our people and call on you all to discontinue acts of opposition against one another. I call on you to put an end to this vogue of taking pens and writing against one another. I hope that you all believe in Islam and in the Islamic Republic and if so you are treading one and the same path, despite certain differences of opinion which you might have with one another in certain areas. But today is no opportune time for insisting on the enactment of personal strategies in defiance against others. I urge all our people, as well as our Majlis deputies and others to comply with this religious task, and would remind them their defiance of this would be an act of violation against Islam.

We all support our Armed Forces and our Army Commanders and it would be an utter lie if somebody would claim that the nation does not support

the Armed Forces. The peoples' cooperation with our Armed Forces in the frontiers is a proof of this attachment of our people to the Armed Forces. Those who claim that the Armed Forces and the Ulema are against each other are uttering mere lies. The presence here of our Ulema who were in the fronts lately, and who come from the two principal theological schools in Qom and Mashhad, and who now have their arms and who have given martyrs and from whom many have been wounded is, a proof of our peoples' support for the Armed Forces. I hope you people will return to the frontiers and that you will eventually triumph over our enemies, Inshallah. And the nation must support the Armed Forces, so that they can protect our fronts. And the rest of our Armed Forces as well as civilian forces should all act harmoniously with our Armed Forces with the nation standing at their back. May this imposed war soon come to its end and may you come out triumphantly. I would like to caution you as well as the generations to come against any attempt for separating the nation from the Ulema, or our university educators from them, or else their separation will be destined to bring along the death of Islam and destruction of the nation.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM ADDRESSES MUSLIM WOMEN CHARITY WORKERS

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, received a group of women members of the 12th Farvardin Charity Foundation of Qom at Hosseiniyyeh Jamaran in Tehran on March 16, 1981. The following is a translation of the text of the Imam's speech to the group of Muslim women:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

Greetings be to you dignified ladies who are determined to make us tread the Right Path by your good advice, and greetings be to all our ladies throughout the country who were teachers to our men in this sublime movement, and who continue to be so up till now. For long the agents of the foreign powers tried hard to make play-dolls of you noble and respectable strata of our society and throw you into the laps of corrupt people as playthings at a time when you should have been busy building this society and building our men. But thanks be to God they did not succeed in their designs. They intended to create a social situation wherein they could take away your children from you and let them be reared in other places estranged from motherly love and so deprive your children of your guardianship, so that the young blood in this country might not get a proper education for their own country and for Islam.

The idea pursued under the guise of the emancipation of women (constitutional law for banning the veil), in the time of that cruel Reza Khan, was one for making corrupt people out of our women. And incidentally this design did not affect our women only but did so to our men as well. They wanted to draw our youth to places of corruption so that they would gradually turn into a mere fun-seeking and pleasure-loving people indifferent to what was going on in this country or about it into whose hands their nation had fallen. Had this Islamic movement (Islamic Revolution) offered nothing beyond this intellectual reformation

which it has brought to our women and out youth, it would have offered sufficiently enough to our nation. Those who murmur here and there saying that the Revolution has done nothing for the nation are the people who suffered due to this intellectual reformation which has occurred in you, and they are the people whose interests, like those of the big and plundering powers, have been adversely affected by this intellectual reformation. Therefore, they mean to downplay whatsoever has been achieved in this country, and show you under massive propaganda aimed at convincing you that nothing worthy has been done in this country since the triumph of the Revolution.

The presence here of you respectable ladies who are devoted to many philanthropic services for the needy as well as for the war refugees, however, stands as a ready proof attesting to this intellectual reformation in you. If it were at the time of the past regime, there would not be such an association of women, nor would the people see the ever-expanding activities of our women in all sectors of our society. Our women comprise half of our nation, who are also entrusted with the task of giving an education to the other half, and thus you see that women have a more significant role to play in the society. They have a more significant role because while they are active in every sphere of life of our society, they also rear in their laps our active people of tomorrow.

The services of mothers to the society excel those of our teachers, and those of every other of our people. This was an idea about which our Prophets were so much concerned. They willed that women rear and educate the future people of the society and offer to the society brave men and women. But those who seek to deprive this nation of all its Divine blessings, those who want to strip this nation of its Islamic blessings and estrange our people from their righteous deeds, are the people who wish to draw people to places of corruption and they are the same people who loathe to see you being active in services for the nation. They are the people who readily see that their designs for ruling the minds of you people have all failed, and therefore you see them shouting to the heavens that 'nothing has been done here,' that this government is just another one comparable to that of the past regime, and that what we have here is no different from what there was during the past regime.

Such are the propaganda which are published here and there in disregard of the factual situation here and in denial of the intellectual reformation which has occurred in our men and women. During the past regime the values predominating in our society were values established on the basis of external considerations: bizarre make-up, and super-luxury houses, and so on and so forth. But today our values are humane and ethical. We owe it to the rule of these same values today, if we see no vestiges of the prominence of women typified by shameful make-up. There is no sign in our society today of their rule over other women. There is no sign of the supercilious, and haughty conduct of the women who sought to feign dignity and prestige and put on airs by putting on smart dresses. Today those women are ashamed. In those days our women would feel somewhat embarrassed to have appeared in public with a dress conforming to the Islamic code of dress. The economically lower class of our people who conformed with the Islamic dress code would feel embarrassed if they had to go among the well-to-do people in those dresses. But today the contrary is true. The women who put on bizarre make-up, who wore showy dresses feel ashamed of themselves in your circles. This reformation far excels any other in our society.

Our women transcended themselves from being like the women typical of the era of Mohammad Reza and Reza Khan, to women illustrative of Zainab and Fatima, may peace be upon them. At that time they copied the European mode of dressing and European styles, and waited for their dresses to be sent to them from Europe, whereas today they are followers of the Islamic school of thought and approve of anything which is recommended by Islam. This is by far the greatest of all reformatations in our society. Perpetuate this reformation and take good care of it lest the enemies or the corrupt hands and the corrupt pens might dissuade you and return you to the past era. The millions of our men and women should proceed with this path and they already are so doing. Do not listen to what the mal-wishers and mal-contents preach. Think independently and do not bring yourselves under the ideological domination of others. Think of your country and try to prove yourselves good citizens for your country. Try to give good advice to our statesmen in authority, and our men and make sure you will prove to be good mothers for your children. You are advisors to the society and hard workers for the impoverished. You are now busy rendering such valuable services to the society as taking care of orphans and aiding the poor and the needy, and visiting the refugees. Such services are highly valued before the Blessed and Supreme Lord. May God guide all our men and all our women in the Right Path which you are treading. May our people go the same way as you are now going and may they do so without seeking any personal ends.

You should remember that the flaws sometimes noticed in our statesmen are far from endangering the Islamic Republic, and I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord to wipe out the differences which are manifest between certain of our statesmen and between certain groups of the masses here, and that they will all pool their efforts for guiding this country in the Right Path, and for establishing Islamic ethics among the masses.

I would like to remind our women as well as our men and our youth against forming the judgement that just because one statesmen might have differences among themselves so naturally our masses should have similar differences among themselves. God willing the differences in opinion among the people of higher ranks will soon be smoothed out, but you should not fan the flames of their differences. But if our people do not concern themselves too much about certain differences prevailing among our statesmen and if they adhere to the idea of promoting a common purpose, then they will certainly lead this nation to ultimate prosperity. Any difference of purpose among our masses may, God forbid, entail their being deprived of Divine blessings and the returning here of the past status which prevailed here for years. If, God forbid, there be any differences among our people as a result of which this nation is defeated in this war, or otherwise its eventual triumph in it is delayed, the people who fan the flames of differences between our statesmen will be responsible for that.

Our Muslims and our people who believe in the Blessed and Supreme Lord should not permit a group of corrupt people, who are the leftovers of the past regime, to sow seeds of differences among our people in our city streets and market places. If you should listen to them they will toss you into the laps of the west or east. Wake up to solve any differences which you might have and admonish the opposing groups to abandon deploying themselves against one another.

I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord for the prosperity of all Muslim nations and all of you ladies, and of all the Muslim women throughout the world. I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord for the triumph of the army of Islam over the army of the unbelievers.

May He make you prosperous and may He make you successful in serving your people.
May peace be with you.

NOW RUZ ADDRESS OF IMAM KHOMEINI

On March 20, 1981, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, congratulated the nation on the occasion of the New Year and urged the Iranians to strengthen their unity in the New Year and proceed even more devoutly with the holy task of fighting the enemies of Islam and of the nation and cutting off the hands of the superpowers that are concerned only about their own ambitious goals and the goal of plundering the wealth and the resources of the weaker nations. The following is a translation from the full text of the Imam's address:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I wish to congratulate the Muslims of the world and the oppressed nations that are under the tyranny of the superpowers as well as the noble and militant nation of Iran. Blessed be this year for your rising and wakeful nation who are rallying all your power for fighting the big powers which are all mobilised against you, and for you who are maintaining the same unity and solidarity as you had among yourselves in the Islamic Revolution and I hope you will ever continue in this same path as brothers, and in full sympathy and good understanding with one another. Blessed will be indeed the day on which men will witness the breaking of the domination of the world-devourers over our oppressed nation and other nations, and the day on which all the nations will take control of their own fate, and on which all the governments will wake up and realise that despite their possession of endless machinery and of vast human forces, and also of vast lands and subterranean resources they have had all sorts of problems just because they have been neglectful of the Islamic tenets which consider all Muslims throughout the world as brothers and which call on all men to join Islam and hold fast to God's rope of unity and to follow the path of Islam.

I hope that in this New Year all our people and our statesmen, as well as those who have a function to perform in the administration of affairs in the country, including the personnel of our Armed Forces, and the others, will work together as brothers and cherish this great blessing, which the holy Qur'an refers to, as the blessing of brotherhood, which is capable of ridding all our troubles.

I hope that in this New Year our people will all be brothers to each other and that they will proceed in solving the problems of the country and in cutting off the hands of the foreign powers from their country. I hope the Muslims of the world will take note of the verses of the Holy Qur'an that have been revealed for promoting solidarity among the Muslim people and which urge them to stick fast to the rope of God, which is Islam. I expect our people to start out this New Year under the banner of Islam and the radiant decrees of the Blessed and Supreme Lord and to cut off the hands of the big powers which are concerned only with their own ambitious goals and the goal of plundering the wealth and the resources of the weak nations. I expect them to be

united together for cutting off the ravaging hands and I hope that these hands will be cut off and that the government of the Muslim nations will be united with their people and will close their ranks as brothers. I wish to see the governments abandon the idea of perpetuating their domination over their people and that the people will not try to thwart all that the governments do. If they return to Islam then they shall be friends with their people as is our government with our people here. Our people are all well-disposed towards the government organs and with the rest of the organs here. Neither do our government organs seek to impose themselves on the people nor do our people ever intend to do anything for the purpose of thwarting the acts of the government. Here the people are all united and, God willing, they will carry out their tasks unitedly and harmoniously, never permitting the hidden powers or their renegades to do anything against them.

We hope that this year will be the year for a friendship such as that between brothers in faith and taht we will witness a return to the same unity and solidarity which was manifest among this nation in the course of the Islamic Revolution. Thanks be to God our people already have the same unity among themselves and I hope they will enhance it even further. I hope our people will devote themselves to the task of serving this country and Islam, and that this year will truly be a New Year for all of us and a blessed one too. I also hope that, God willing, in this same year we will witness the triumph of Islam and that the religious minorities will continue to live peacefully under the banner of Islam, and that this war, which is being waged by Saddam Hussein for the big powers, will come to an end. I am sure that the nation will note that these problems are being caused in this country by our enemies and not by our friends, but that the government is currently trying to do its best to heal the scars of the war and to ensure the due welfare of our people. But at any rate these are the effects of the war. I recall some years past when the Allies had set foot in Iran, our bakeries were kept closed for sometime in Qom, and famine was striking the city. Once in those days I happened to be walking with a child when I heard him shouting and jumping to his feet when coming across someone who was carrying some portion of 'sangack' bread in his hands. Yes, it was so because the child had not seen bread for a relatively long time.

Today too we are engaged in a war: we are fighting with the whole of the superpowers, as they are imposing an economic blockade on us. But due to the efforts of the nation and the government we still have relative welfare here. I hope this war will soon come to its end and that the army of Islam will eventually triumph over the army of the unbelievers. May this country and this nation prosper and may our nation be always healthy. May God reform our hearts and give us discerning insight enabling us to evaluate issues properly. Again there are people who are publicising much propaganda to the effect that here is another system all too reminiscent of the past regime and that this government has done nothing for the nation and so on and so forth. They also publish news about so-called economic shortages and the like of that. But they tend to forget that during the past two years, despite our being constantly preoccupied by the impending intervention of the big powers and their renegades here, during the period after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution we have built more schools than had been built during the more than 50 years of the past monarchical government here. What they have done in terms of public and welfare services in this country since the Revolution surpasses the whole of those done during that period in the past. But despite all that the blinded hearts over-

look all these things and merely argue that the government and Islam are incapable of doing anything. They say Islam cannot administer the affairs of the country: whereas in reality it is Islam which has collected the people around themselves, and it is Islam which has alleviated the adverse affects of this war.

I hope that God will make this year a prosperous one for us and a year for promoting our brotherly sentiments and the principles of equality and equity. I hope the government and our people will proceed unitedly in guiding this country along the path of prosperity and prepare for it whatever it needs, and that they will also put an end to the wrong things in the country which are, of course, natural phenomena of any post-revolutionary era. I hope that this year we will have a country wherein we will see the rule of Law only and that we will not see anyone doing anything against our Laws. I hope you will all enforce the laws and that you will abide by the laws.

I hope all the Muslims will have, and especially our people and those of Iraq, will have eventual prosperity and that this 'vermin of corruption' will be pushed aside and that Iran and Iraq will be free countries. I wish all prosperity and good health and also hope that we will see the liberation of Palestine and Qods, and that God will punish all those who oppress and tyrannise the Muslims.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

ADDRESS OF IMAM ON ISLAMIC REPUBLIC DAY

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and Founder of the Islamic Republic, Imam Khomeini addressed a message to the Iranian nation on the occasion of the second anniversary of the establishment of the Islamic Republic on April 1, 1981. The following is a translation from the text of the Imam's speech:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Endless greetings to the revolutionary nation of Iran who stood up and managed to cut off the hands of the criminals of the west and east and who subsequently established the Islamic Republic! The Blessings of the Supreme Lord be upon the martyrs of the path of Independence, Freedom, and the Islamic Republic, and greetings to our brave combatants in the esteemed fronts for the defence of our endeared nation and the great religion of Islam! Greetings to the refugees and the families of our martyrs, and Divine Blessings be upon their supporters behind the fronts throughout Iran.

Blessed be your entering into the third year of the establishment of the Islamic Republic, and achievement made possible only after our having successfully passed through immense trials, and the conspiracies of the superpowers and the satanic powers, headed by the criminal United States, and which made our nation ever more dignified and self-assured with the help of our fighters and which, by the Will of the Supreme Lord, the Helper of the Oppressed made Truth finally triumph over Falsehood.

Today from our vantage-point and with our unity of expression and purpose we are finding ourselves confronted with world-devouring enemies and those people who have sold themselves for want of any patriotic feelings. Last year we were confronted with world devouring enemies and those people who have sold themselves for want of any

patriotic feelings. Last year we were confronted with the U.S. conspiracy and its impotent tool, Sadat, who gave the deposed shah asylum for the purpose of raising a hullabaloo and tumult aiming at exploiting the ex-shah for his own ends. But upon the assistance of the Supreme Lord the shah was finally sent in the most humbling manner into the grave and the plotters were tossed upon the trash heap of history. This year, however we are finding ourselves confronted with the even more corrupt offshoots and even more criminal roots of the west of east. But thanks be to God that the imposition of this war on us has served to further consolidate the combatant nation of Iran!

The Baathist government of Iraq is now finding itself entangled in its own trap due to its own miscalculations and also due to the guile of a group of instigators. It sees no way out because, on the one hand, the Iranian Armed Forces have caught him in a corner and have rendered him helpless. But despite that Saddam is busying himself with trying to extricate himself from this trap which he has laid out with his own hands, and pursuing his wishful thinking further he is even hoping to regain a lost prestige for himself, and to cover-up his criminal acts on his nation with a veil of guile and deception, little knowing that it is already too late for him and that he, too, like the deposed shah and his predecessors is destined to go to the same cemetery which has swallowed them.

It is time for Saddam, and his tyrannical supporters, to realize that this year he is destined to find our Army and our Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and the rest of our armed forces, as well as the militia groups, even more united and consolidated than they were in the past year, and that our combatant people will provide them with even more support. Volunteer for martyrdom in the Divine Path are ever increasing in number and are keenly awaiting the issuing of the Divine Commandment. Today, due to the economic sanctions against us, our learned people are using their brains with a view to eliminating our shortages and have considerably compensated for the losses caused by the imposition of the economic blockade against us. Today the Iranian government, backed by the Iranian people, is standing ever more firmly against the enemies. The criminal Saddam and his friends would better know that the crimes which his criminal men have committed in Iran and Iraq are far beyond reckoning. The damages incurred in material losses amount to more than thousands of billions of rials, with even more grave costs in terms of human lives. Saddam and his supporters caused the martyrdom of the best of our youth who should have been busy in the task of reviving Islam throughout the world and in Iran, and have killed men from among the Armed Forces of Iraq who should at least be fighting against the common enemy of the Arabs, that is, the criminal Israel, for the purpose of liberating Qods (Occupied Palestine), and who made the Armed Forces of his country invade a nation which was thinking of nothing but Islam.

The world should know that today Iran is not a country like the superpowers or their servile powers in which tyrannical minorities dominate an oppressed majority, and decide their fate, but rather it is a country wherein certain of its people are assigned as 'servants' in whom is entrusted the task of administering the affairs of the state upon the will of the nation, and wherein the people have committed themselves to supporting them. The collaboration of the masses in solving our social problems both in the course of the Revolution and during its culmination, and the participation of our young and old people including our men, women, and children in efforts for elimination of problems in the war fronts, or elsewhere behind the fronts, are all indicative of the commitment of the citizenry in the task of defending this

country, a fact which shows clearly that the will of the people here, is decisive in determining the fate of the nation, or the outcome of the war or peace.

The people who are intending intermediation, allegedly from a spirit of good will, and who are zipping in and out of here, if they are truly humanitarian in nature and if they have embarked on this task with goodwill and in accordance with the tenets of Islam, should make a thorough study with an outlook for identifying exactly who the oppressors are and seeing them as being opposed to the wronged people and see the difference between the plunderers and the plundered, and the difference between the criminals and the people who have been the victims of criminal acts, and proceed then to show the results of their findings to the public attention. Our nation shall always submit to justice and that which is right, as decisively as it is standing against all tyranny and oppression.

We expect such a delegation to embark on the task of investigation of the violations and crimes committed against us, and subsequently to expose who the tyrants are and who the oppressors are and treat those kind of people in the manner which will serve as an exemplary lesson for the people who trespass the principles of Human Rights. In this manner we can succeed in returning peace and tranquility to this world. Any act of connivance and toleration of the crimes of the tyrants would only serve the purpose of paving the way for the oppressors in the eventual destruction of the entire world. And now in fulfillment of the tasks, which I enshoulder as a servant of this nation, I would like to make the following observations:

1. I would like to declare to all groups, organizations, parties and factional groups throughout the country (who are holding arms illegally) that if they turn in their arms, and declare their repentance they will be pardoned and will be permitted to live in the country in a spirit of brotherhood with their brothers in faith. In that case they will be pardoned for their previous acts (of outlawry), but if they should continue with their outlawry no excuses will be accepted from them, as is decreed in Islam, and I feel sure that the day will soon come when they will repent for having done what they have. You opposers of the Islamic Republic should have realised long ago that you are incapable of standing against a nation of people who do not in the least think of their lives in working for the country and Islam and that you will have to surrender after having subjected yourselves to innumerable hardships and agonies and after having committed as many crimes as you may commit. Therefore it will be in your own best interests to join the rest of the nation and discontinue being enticed by the west or the east. It will be to your own good to declare your return to the bosom of the nation and Islam so that you may enjoy the support of the nation.

2. In recent days when, thanks be to God, the voices of opposition have been withering, and when (due to the 5-day Now Ruz holidays) the newspapers were not published and luckily when they were out after the holidays the majority of them abstained from dwelling on controversial topics which could have served to instigate fresh division and antagonism. During that time when the minds of people were at rest in the absence the ballyhooes normally published by the subgroups, our combatants in the war fronts as well as our army commanders continued to fight in the fronts with increased faith and enthusiasm and, thanks be to God, the Iranian combatants achieved significant success. Therefore, it is incumbent on all who have an interest in the country and in Islam to continue treading this same path of salvation, which is the path of Righteousness and which has the Blessing of God. They should check themselves against indulging in any act tending to instigate people against one another, which is the path of the Devil and an act of defiance against the Will of God. May they reach salvation in this world and in the Hereafter and may our country be led in the path of reconstruction.

3. It is a religious and undisputed obligation for all public speakers, who deliver speeches in the open arenas or elsewhere in enclosed places, to check themselves against uttering anything which even indirectly, or by implied allusion, might serve to sow discord among the people or cause division or antagonism among them. Division is a virulent poison to the Islamic Ummah today, and our people should remember at all times that any act serving to antagonise our people in our society would have the same grave consequences as any other act done under the pressure of the concupiscent urges in man, and one revealing our submission to the Devil within us and would serve the interests of the superpowers and especially the world-devouring United States. Such acts are among the most grave sins when the Devil prompts men to utter and write such scandals in the name of Islam and they should remember that the Islamic Republic cannot tolerate this, and that violators will be punished. The Public Prosecutor has the responsibility to put an end to this dangerous trend. Needless to mention that healthy and constructive speeches delivered in calm environments for the purpose of enhancing unity among the people and preventing discord and convulsion will be permitted and will conform with what God expects of us.

4. I am concerned about the status of our Ulema who are true guardians of Islam. I feel worried lest the people, who are entrusted with the administrative task in the country, and especially the members of our courts of law, and committees and also our public prosecutors offices might, even for want of due attention to Islamic law, indulge in doing things which will mar the true picture of Islam in the eyes of the public, thereby instigate the enemies of Islam to publish defamatory rumors and overplay rather trivial issues to the detriment of Islam and the Ulema. It is unfortunate that certain members of our Ulema are heedless of the ultimate consequences of their acts and tend to indulge in acts seemingly to support Islam, who being deeply stirred up by rumors criticise the Islamic Republic and the Islamic Revolutionary Tribunals and other organs of the state and thereby unconsciously aid the enemies of Islam and the Holy Qur'an and turn themselves into accomplices in the unconstitutional acts of the quasi-political groups.

I would like our Chief Justice (Ayatollah Dr. Mohammad Beheshti), our Public Prosecutor (Ayatollah Musavi Ardebilli) and the head of the Revolutionary Courts to organise probe groups comprised of committed and faithful people for the purpose of investigating the work of the courts of law throughout the country, and to dismiss unqualified judges and deviated prosecutors, and summon them for trial in case they are found to have trespassed upon the wealth of the people or caused them undue disrespect. Any connivance in discharging this grave task would be a great threat to the Islamic Republic and the more it is postponed the greater will grow the number of malcontents and equally greater will be the danger to the state.

5. Occasionally we receive reports that the Islamic Revolutionary Guards have overstepped the limits of their authority in various parts of the country and that they have done acts beyond their specific authority, or that they have interfered in the affairs which are the domain of the courts or of other institutions. The authorities responsible for the acts of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards throughout the country should ensure that instances of such infringements of the laws which are against Islam are discontinued. If there are people among such organizations who should insist in doing such illegal acts, those people might very probably be from deviated groups and if they are found to have committed any illegal act they should be submitted to the responsible courts for trial. It is incumbent on the High Council of the Islamic

Revolutionary Guards Corps to exercise close surveillance over whatever is being done in the Corps so that the prestige and the good reputation of the committed people who are working there will be safeguarded. Likewise the heads of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps are responsible to put an end to the deviated acts of any people throughout the country.

6. The government must provide more aid and support to the agricultural sector than it has already done. It should spare no effort in doing so and should eliminate the administrative red tape which serves mainly to hinder this issue of paramount significance. It should admonish our Governors General throughout the country that agriculture is among the most important sector in the country and that healthy pursuit of agricultural affairs will serve to build a sound economy in the country.

7. I would like the nation to heed none of the rumors which are constantly being published by the groups attached to the former regime, or to the superpowers, and to not lend their ears to the lies which are published here and there.

Now that the opposers of the Revolution have been dismayed at the futility of their conspiracies they are concentrating their efforts on publishing rumors and false reports aimed at frustrating and turning the people against the Path which they have been treading and throwing the country into the lap of either the Rightists or the Leftists.

I pray to the Supreme Lord for the prosperity and the triumph of Islam in this New Year, and I am hopeful that by His Divine Power He will protect this Islamic country from the evil of vicious people. Again greetings to this nation of great people, and greetings to the martyrs and to all people who have been afflicted with any hardships in the cause of Islam!

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM THANKS AIR FORCE PILOTS

The Leader of the Revolution, Imam Khomeini, on April 4, 1981 in his residence received a group of Iranian Air Force pilots who had performed a successful operation deep within Iraqi territory on April 4th. The following is a translation of the Imam's speech:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I got the after the fact knowledge of the true significance of your recent air operations and the more I listened to the reports on your mission the more insight I gained into the depth of this feat of yours. Your operations proved that, thanks be to God, our youths, with their trust in God, carried out a mission which was more like a miracle. If I knew of anything higher in value than good wishes and my prayers for your blessing, I would have dedicated it to you gentlemen. But the prayer which I have said, and will continue to say for you, far excels any other gift to you. I implore the Blessed and Supreme Lord to make you ever successful in the path you have ahead of yourselves and that He will keep you steadfast in safeguarding your country and our beloved religion of Islam, and that with ever increasing perseverance you will destroy the roots of corruption which still exist here and there.

I have always supported all of the branches of our Armed Forces

r Including our Air Force, our Ground Forces, and the rest of our forces
 n and I will continue to do so in the future, and so has the nation and
 it will continue to do so in the future. The nation regards you as
 n- being worthy of their absolute support and I hope the people's unity
 will be an everlasting one, and that so will be your union with the
 Ulema. I hope you will always remember that if there are any members
 of the Ulema who come among your circles for doing anything within
 their capacity, they will be working for the eventual benefit of you
 people and for the entire nation and Islam. Too many hands were as of
 late busy working designs for separating the nation from and for
 antagonising the people against you. Once the representatives of the
 Ulema are among you - where, albeit, they are only authorised to work
 within their specific authority - they will be your supporters, and
 their presence among you will be to your own benefit. If there is any-
 body who tells you that the presence of this class of our society among
 you will be to your detriment, do not believe him. It is because of
 the presence of these same people among you that the nation will continue
 to support you. I hope the good relations which already exist between
 the people from the various walks of life will continue to exist in the
 future. It is under these auspices that the nation is capable of
 treading forward ever more determined, and if incidentally there should
 ever be any gripe against any of them such things should be settled by
 referring to me or to other responsible persons assigned with this task
 and at any rate the responsibility and authority of all individuals
 should be clearly delineated. Neither should you venture to prevent
 them from performing their duties within the limits of their responsi-
 bility and authority, nor should they permit themselves to trespass the
 limits demarcating their authority. The responsibility of each and
 every person should be clearly defined and observed. If there is a
 member of the Ulema assigned with the task of preaching among you, he
 must be permitted to perform his task, and if any person should try to
 incite you to stop him from doing his task, then you should remember
 that that person is your enemy, that he is not your friend.

But on the other hand, the Ulema, too, should not transgress their
 limits of authority, because transgression is not permitted in Islam
 and every person is responsible to keep within the limits of his own
 liability and responsibility. I just deemed it an opportune time for
 reminding you gentlemen as well as other of our brothers in the rest
 of the Armed Forces of this issue. I heard our Ulema were received with
 some ill grace among the personnel of our Ground Forces, little perhaps
 knowing that as long as the members of the Ulema are among them they will
 support them, and so will the entire nation. If they should absent
 themselves from your circles, then a handful of mal-wishers will forge
 stories in order to estrange you from the nation and alienate them from
 you.

ur The Ulema who work among you upon an assignment should continue to
 perform their duties within the boundaries set for them, and they are
 not permitted to violate their limits. And if they are found anywhere
 to have done anything beyond their strict authority, then the incident
 should be reported to the proper authorities so that they may be stopped
 in their acts. At any rate I would like to witness a thorough consoli-
 aye- dation of the Ulema and the rest of the nation as well as between the
 her- various branches of our Armed Forces: it is this unity that is capable
 of saving this nation. Once you see that you are doing acts of self-
 eep- sacrifice, such as you did in this recent miraculous mission, and when
 after that you find out that the entire nation is standing behind you,
 and appreciating your efforts, you will then gain a higher morale. This
 is a feeling opposed to what you would have felt in a situation where you

would find the nation indifferent about whatever you do. During the past regime if they did anything, the nation would not voice its support, if it did not rather voice its opposition. He (the last monarch) did as he willed and did not concern himself about such matters. But today you see that the nation is present and active in every sphere of social activities. This is particular to Islam and to a Muslim country and to an Islamic Republic, and one which impels the people to keep themselves in the scene as active participants and overseers.

Today you see that every citizen is contributing some of his or her share to the war activities in which you are participating with a spirit of self-abnegation. They are all giving you support and the people are all unanimous in their opinion that we should triumph in the war. That our small children break open their saving boxes in order to donate their savings to the war-stricken people is an oft-heard report. It is because here, we have been only barely touched by a breeze of Islam, and I hope that Islam will take its true shape in this country. Once it does then you shall surely have triumphed everywhere. I appreciate the efforts of you gentlemen in the Armed Forces as much as I appreciate the efforts of all of our Armed Forces personnel in performing their duties with a spirit of self-sacrifice.

May God make you all steadfast and successful in your undertakings and may He make you triumphant.

IMAM ADDRESSES DEPRIVED DWELLERS

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, on April 5, 1981, received a group of people who had come to visit him from the slum districts of the south of Tehran. The following is a translation of the text of the Imam's speech:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

Present before me are people and representatives from various groups to whom I would like to refer individually but who I trust will excuse me from doing so lest I might inadvertently miss the names of any group in declaring my acknowledgements.

You are all people from among an Islamic nation and you are all toilers and followers of the Holy Qur'an. We owe it to the struggles of people from your strata for the triumph of the Islamic Revolution: the strata of the deprived dwellers, the strata of the deprived, and the strata of the people who led this revolution to its culmination and who did so without any special reward. I honor you deprived dwellers more than I honor the people who live in palaces - if they can ever be compared with you. As I look back in retrospect, I recall many a case of old men living in the pits who during the Revolution would come out from their dwellings and who would take to the streets and join other groups of demonstrators along with their wives and children, and as I enliven these scenes before me I contrast you with the palace-dwellers who did not do anything for the Revolution or who even tried to undermine it (as they continue to do even today). I feel all the more convinced that the least worthy among you far excels each and every one of those people, and that truly there can be no comparison.

You brought this Revolution to its fruitful culmination as you were supported by other groups throughout the country: those, too, were the

deprived men and women who are oppressed and who are weakened by the moneyed class. But you, and people like you, proved that really it is the dwellers in the palaces who should more aptly be called the 'weak people' and the corrupt and rotten ones. They never did anything for this nation, nor are they likely to do anything for the nation in the future. Here we had a university in which we had a group of youth who came mainly from the oppressed and deprived classes. It was this oppressed class of our society which was deprived from every means of welfare but which had people with hearts imbued with a love of Islam. They promoted this movement as they were spurred in their struggle by the love of God. They gave martyrs but did not demand any compensation. Against them we had a group of other people who were not loyal to any ideological path and who did nothing except acts of sabotage against the Revolution and still continue to do so here and there. They were the people who, during the Revolution, crawled into places of sanctuary waiting for the final hours to see which group would triumph so that they could then come out of their hiding places and start picking the fruits for themselves. But once they realised that they could not pick as much as they expected from this Islamic Republic they embarked on subversive plots, here and there, and endorsed subversive acts done by others. They have been busy in Kurdistan and Baluchistan, and have of late involved us in a war in the western and southern provinces. The same people are trying hard to distract the attention of the people from the more immediate issue of the war and who are publishing senseless propaganda and all that bunkum in our city streets. But you are the people who rid this country from the hands of the superpowers. You belong to a deprived mass which does not ask God for any reward in compensation for the services it has done for the nation. We are all indebted to you and hope to deserve the honor of serving you. You were the people who took to the streets and who raised your bare fists against the army tanks and struggled bravely along with your wives and children, and who gave many martyrs. Even today as we see television reports, it is people from this same deprived mass who are fighting in the battle scenes. The dwellers in the palaces did not contribute as little as a penny (rial) to the people in the war, nor are they likely to do so in the future. If they are not busy sowing the seeds of corruption, they are at their best 'indifferent' people. Thanks be to God, I must praise the efforts of our Armed Forces involved in this war. Only yesterday our people in the Air Force demonstrated an unprecedented act of bravery by penetrating deep into Iraqi territory and pounding them in their own lands. I hope I have the right from the nation to express the peoples', as well as my own, gratitude to the combatants who are giving their lives for the country and Islam along our frontiers. The nation will continue to support them. Thanks be to God, yesterday they demonstrated a typical act of bravery by pounding the Iraqis inside Iraq and returning home safely. They proved that had they (the Iranian Air Force) not been concerned about the lives of innocent civilians in Iraq - whom they love - and were it not for the fear of accidental injury to civilians in Iraq, our Air Force could have long since proved to him (Saddam Hussein) that he and his men are far too incapable to stand up to our youths.

Yesterday before the Commanders of the Armed Forces were about to leave my place, the Commander of the Air Force told me in private that they (the Iranian Air Force) were going to perform some operation. He did not elaborate on that, but later as the news of this successful mission was broadcast I realised that the Iraqis had been duly visited upon and realised only then that what our Air Force Commander had said earlier had come true. Likewise the personnel of our other Forces, including

our Ground Force, and our Islamic Revolutionary Guards, who are fighting with valour, are all praised by our people. They, too, are from the oppressed masses. Our pilots, our Islamic Revolutionary Guards, our Gendarmerie personnel, and the whole of our Armed Forces personnel, are from this same class, and therefore we owe it to these people for the triumph of our Revolution. It was our people from this class who rose to revolt and who thrust this movement forward and today it is the same people who are fighting in our borders, and who are bestowing honor and dignity on our people. They have proven to the world that they who are fighting here are without peers in bravery.

Everyday we receive reports of the success of our youths in the war fronts here and there. The people who are fighting in the battle fields are from this same class. They are from our deprived people, but at the same time they are superior to all other classes, and so are you who are doing acts of self-sacrifice behind the fronts. You are fighting behind the fronts while they are doing so in the battle fields. This is peculiar to the Islamic Revolution. It is typical of Islam. This is one of the things which has been ordained upon you by Islam. From the first day you stood up for the sake of Islam and even today you are proceeding with your acts of self-sacrifice because you consider your government to be Islamic, your Armed Forces to be Islamic. It is with this same belief that you are pooling your efforts for the interest of the country without having any private motivation or personal ends. Our nation now supports our Armed Forces to an extent which is perhaps, without equal in the entire world, or perhaps in all of history. Here we have battle scenes in which are present our children, our youngsters, as well as our old men and women and our just-married couples: they are all there. It is a battle scene in which is present the entire nation.

Let none of you people, who represent a great nation and who come from our deprived masses be tempted to imagine that the dwellers in palaces feel truly comfortable, for they do not. Their hearts are filled with a feeling of insecurity. They are not tranquil. The feeling of insecurity reigning among the dwellers in the palaces is unknown among the dwellers in the pits. The latter have a security such as is missing in the people who, in their own judgement, are placed above others. If you look closely at the big powers, you will find out that the heads of state of the big powers have such anxiety, fear and worry as is unheard of among you people who work for the sake of God, and who seek a Divine reward for your efforts. This is a blessing which you have been granted by God and perhaps it is beyond our capacity to acquire a comprehensive knowledge of all the facets and manifestations of the secret Blessings of Divinity: the blessing of peace, tranquility, and calmness of mind, serenity and composure as prevalent among you is unheard of in the people who are of the 'higher' well-to-do classes. Among those people there is much anxiety and restlessness. The people who are taking abode in the palaces are grieving while you people who dwell in the pits have none of their grievances.

This is one of God's Blessings upon you and I hope that the Blessed and Supreme Lord will ever continue to bestow on you and on the rest of the Muslims His Blessings, Inshallah. May the mostakbirin (the superciliously arrogant group of the moneyed class) soon be given their due, and may God do away with those who have violated and tyrannised over you!

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM'S ADDRESS TO REVOLUTIONARY COURT JUDGES

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic, Imam Khomeini, yesterday received a group of judges of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts in the Central Province along with members of the staffs of these courts in his residence. The following is a translation from the Imam's speech to the visiting personalities:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

This task in which you gentlemen are involved, that is, the task of judgement, as well as the task of prosecution and any other task carried out by people who by the nature of their duties, are associated with our prisons and with prisoners, is both highly valuable and equally difficult to perform. It is difficult because it concerns 'judgement', and judgement is always likely to make one of the opposing parties dissatisfied. Once there has been any dispute between two parties, the party who lost the case in court is not likely to leave the courtroom without expressing his dissatisfaction verbally. Perhaps it is always like that; the people against whom a court decision is issued are perhaps always dissatisfied irrespective of whether or not the writ of judgement rightly finds them guilty or declares them as having lost the case. Well, of course the party against whom a wrong judgement has been issued has a good reason to be unhappy. But the core of the problem is heaviness of the responsibility...

You have said that this is a heavy task; but I say in response to that that it is worth the effort. It is worth the trouble for the value it has. It is worth the trouble of wrestling with problems inherent in any task which we assume. I do not intend to enter into details but wish only to remind you that the task of judgement is perhaps among the most exalted duties of man. It is one whose subject matter is men, their dignity, their wealth, their rights. It is a very difficult and demanding task and that is why the particulars which qualify a person as a judge are varied and many. Today we do not have as many qualified judges as we need, but luckily they are increasing and I hope that soon we will have a sufficient number of qualified judges. However, those of our present judges who are assigned in Tehran and Qom and elsewhere throughout the country should remember at all times that today the primary target of the malcontents is the ulema (Islamic religious scholars). The opposing groups are going a long way in their campaign against the Islamic Republic in order to alienate and isolate the ulema.

By the nature of their duties they (the religious judges) deal with offenders and criminals who are in many instances capable of raising much hullabaloo and sparking off anxiety amongst the masses. Once our judges were ever to go astray in issuing their judgements, then the losing parties are likely to raise a lot of commotion amongst the public by exaggerations and bitter hostile propaganda. Do not lead yourselves into believing that they are all devoted Muslims and that nobody will ever tell a lie. Last night a gentleman related this incident to me that some days ago another gentleman was at the office of a responsible authority and that upon leaving the office of that person some other people came up to him claiming that there was a person who had been tortured, and asked him whether or not he would be willing to see that man. He said he would and immediately a person was brought to him whose body had been burnt in several places, the scars of which still vividly remained. Somewhere on the skin of that man he could read the name of the judge as minutely scorched by a glowing

cigarette. The subject claimed that they had tortured him with cigarettes and that the name of that person, as scorched in his skin, revealed the identity of the man upon whose orders that torture had been conducted. Then the gentleman asked the subject, where and , by whom, he had been tortured. In response the man said that he did not know; and that some people had forced him into a car along a scheduled road and that later some people who were wearing masks had scorched all over his body burns. He alleged that the people who had done that to him had been Islamic Revolutionary Guards. When asked how he had come to believe that those people had been revolutionary guards, despite his having said that they were not wearing any uniforms and also despite the statement that their faces were concealed from him he had no answer. This official then asked the subject if he was sure that those people had not been from amongst his own acquaintances to which he did not get any answer. Then this officer said that he found that man to have been a hypocrite and, calling him the same, dismissed him.

There was another person - a learned man in legal affairs, perhaps from Shiraz who told me lately that a member of a certain opposition group had recently burned one of his own friends in order to fabricate what was supposed to be an instance of actual torture by the authorities of this country. Now these kind of people with whom we are dealing. If you expect to be doing your job without being subjected to absolutely any hardship, that is an expectation in vain. You have many problems to cope with and by far the greatest part of those problems are normally imposed on the ulema. And our public prosecution offices have these same problems. They, too, are involved in the task of judging, and wherever there is a judgement, there are likely to be mal-contenders. But beside these instances of dissatisfaction which are some what to be expected and naturally, we have the problem of coping with the people who did nothing for the Revolution during the Islamic Revolution but who immediately after its triumph came out to pick the fruits for themselves. These people had fanciful expectations, longing to be given this or that office, and even the office of Presidency. Once they were disappointed in their plans they embarked on acts of sabotage and what not. Such are the people with whom you are dealing. Plots abound in every place: in prisons, outside prisons, in the war fronts and everywhere else. I believe and you and your peers and myself, who bring up these issues in our own circles, have the responsibilities to present these problems to the people.

Frequently I am informed of accusations against you , but upon further investigations the people who know you well have declared you to be beyond such failings. You denied the accusations against yourselves and you did so in my presence; but you have the responsibility to do so before the public also. You, too, have come to me with similar grievances against others, without the people being aware of your own complaints. The people who publish slanderous accusations against you abound here and there and do what they will. But unfortunately, there are people, even among public officials, who tend to believe in the truth of such reports or take them for granted, and by their doing so help to give credibility to such unfounded reports and rumors.

You are working in an environment with these and similar problems despite which you have chosen to remain silent and tell the public nothing about your own agonies, whereas the people who publish all those slanderous pieces of propaganda for making it hard for you are still going about publishing this and that rumor abroad for misrepresenting the facts, and for misrepresenting you in the eyes of the people and to damage your good name and to show you as being such and such a kind of person, whereas I have heard from various reliable people including Mr. Mohammadi and other devoted and self-committed people that

our judges are sincere and dedicated people. Therefore while I agree with you that the task which you have taken upon your shoulders is a very heavy one, I would like to enjoin you on more and more perseverance. The more you are patient and the more you persevere the greater will be your reward from God. You told me just now that time has been lacking for you to take up the scores of cases which are piling up on your desks every day, but noted that even as little as you have done so far, has caused a lot of ill-will among the people and has antagonized many persons against you. I am privy to all these things. I know that the one who is judge, the one who is the Majlis Speaker, and the one who is the Public Prosecutor all have their own problems to deal with, but despite all that they have the responsibility to make the people aware of the realities. Many a person believes that as soon as a convict or a criminal is sent to a prison he is subjected to all kinds of tortures whereas such figments of the imagination are completely remote from any reality. On the other side of the issue are you, who have repeatedly affirmed that such allegations are totally false and unfounded and that it is those ill-wishers and mal-contenters who were, as though, torturing you with their biased and false accusations. You have seen instances of police constables being beaten by those same people while these very constables remained silent...

As long as you are working in a society wherein some of its people are willing to burn their bodies in order to charge you with acts of tortures, you should not expect to be able to work and live with absolute peace of mind. You should prepare yourselves for this and similar instances of false charges and scandalizing acts... In your capacities as judges and prison wards you are dealing with people who are enemies of the Islamic Republic, and therefore you cannot expect these people (prisoners, criminals, and convicts) to behave with you in an honorable and humane way. If there are prisoners who are capable of being guided in the right path you should spare no effort to guide them, for an Islamic prison is a place wherein convicts and prisoners should be taught to discard their bad habits. If there are prisoners who can be rectified by preaching and guidance you should do this yourselves or encourage other people to do the same. Inside the Islamic Republic prisons you should be making sure that they are guarded as if they were schools. If you have imprisoned a burglar or a thief or a pickpocket, well then why not teach them how to relinquish their stealing habit and set them free when they have discarded their habit? An Islamic prison should be administered in accordance with Islamic principles. In Islam we have people like Imam Ali, who, after, being badly stabbed in the mosque urged his men to give his assailant (1) the same food as they were going to bring to him (Imam Ali) and to treat him well. Now if you show this kind of conduct to the people with whom you are dealing, the chances are that a great many of them will rectify themselves. Naturally this is a very heavy task and if just anyone was entrusted with such a task he would be likely to give it up.

But again like I told you it is not likely to avail you, to try to try to make yourselves content by coming to me and defending yourselves in my presence. It is the nation who is the ultimate judge of your acts. Your enemies are right there among the nation and they are busy as bees spreading slanderous rumors against you. You should speak out amongst the people. They are describing our Islamic Revolutionary Guards with words befitting professional torturers and if you people sit still and are contented with yourselves merely by coming to me and telling only me about this, then you will not have done anything to wipe out the libels which tend to becloud the true stature and the nature of our Islamic

Revolutionary Guards.

I hope the God Almighty will make you ever more steadfast in proceeding with the tasks that you have assumed, but again, I would like to reiterate to those of you gentlemen who personally came to me today and who exclaimed denials of many allegations against yourselves, that your exclamations to me will not open the eyes of the people to the facts and that instead you should go among the people themselves and challenge, with well-documented proof and evidence, the people who seek to disrepute you. Let them all visit the prisons - the foreign officials and others, and find the facts for themselves, I hope that these things will soon be corrected, that you will continue to work with firm hearts and that you will eventually succeed in performing your task, IN-SHA-ALLAH.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM'S ADDRESS ON ANNIVERSARY OF MARTYRDOM OF AYATOLLAH SADR

On April 9, 1981 coinciding with the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Ayatollah Sadr the leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and Founder of the Islamic Republic, Imam Khomeini, received a group of more than three thousand Iraqi Muslims at Hosseiniyeh Jamaran who had been expelled from Iraq. The following is a translation from the text of the Imam's speech to the visiting group.

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,

"I would like to express my condolences to the oppressed masses of the world and especially to the Muslim people of Iraq and Iran on the occasion of the first anniversary of the martyrdom of Ayatollah Sadr. My dear people, my dear brothers you have been expelled from your homeland and have suffered much hardship from the Baathist government. We too, have been sharing with you many agonies inflicted on us by that same government. We too, in Iran were tyrannised over by a dictatorship which treated this nation as the Mongols had done and which banished our religious scholars, and martyred many of them which burned some people in giant pots and tormented our youth in prison cells, and cut off the limbs of many of our youth. (This was) a dictatorial government which imprisoned a great many of our religious scholars in many cities in the country and which abused our ulema while banning many of them.

"During the rule of this irreligious and cruel party in Iraq you, too, have been confronted with much of the same agonies as we had been here during the past regime. They arrested your youth on such specious accusations merely for their intending to visit to the tomb of the Lord of Martyrs (Imam Hussein), and did such brutal and disgraceful acts to them as were reminiscent of what that corrupt party had done to our ulema. We will not forget what they did to the late Ayatollah Hakim, nor what they did to Ayatollah Sadr who would not tolerate their injustice and who only meant to establish in Iraq an Islamic government, and they also martyred his honourable sister. We have given many martyrs as you have, and we have been put into so many prisons just as you have been. But the Blessed and Supreme Lord willed that this nation be ridden from the burden of tyranny, therefore He made it possible for the people of this nation to

(1) Ibn Muljam - one of a party of renegades who foresook Imam Ali and later opposed him bitterly.

triumph over the then cruel government by their unity of expression and trust in God, and it was thus that the nation succeeded in expelling him from their own country and in cutting off the hands of the big powers. They established an Islamic government here but are even until today ever more finding themselves confronted with malicious hands whose aim is to undermine the Islamic Republic, lest in the future the Arab nations as well might revolt to establish governments of the people.

"The person who has thus far done so much injustice to the people in Iraq, and to the Arab communities (in Iran), has done crimes to this people which are reminiscent of those done by Mohammad Reza against his nation. But in even more shameful acts than was typical of Mohammad Reza, Saddam has killed so many of the Arab people of Iran and has rendered so many of the Arab women and children homeless for the promotion of an idea which he has without any shame called 'Pan-Arabism'. But in reality he has committed such massacres for the Great Satan as to have already filled our cemeteries.

"At the time of the rule of this despotic ruler there was no better thing than unity of expression and trust in God. During my earlier years in Iran and before being expelled from this country and arriving in Iraq I always tended to think that the Arab tribes, who even at that time were armed, would stand against this (Saddam Hussein's) government and that they would give him his due, but after I arrived in Iraq I was even more surprised than I had been before on seeing them (Saddam's men) besiege the house of the chief religious scholar in the country, and on seeing him taken from Baghdad to Najaf under arrest and finally martyring him with such cruelty. If the Iraqi people should want to rid themselves from the burden of their corrupt government they can but copy what the Iranian people did during the Revolution. They should have unity of expression and trust in God as had our people during the Islamic revolution. Here we have a nation which managed to oust a cruel government by unity of expression and trust in God despite the fact that it was a powerful government, more powerful than is this filthy government of Saddam. The Iranian nation succeeded in wiping out from history, the wicked dynasties of Sultans and this nucleus of corruption, without having any arms, and in putting in its place an Islamic Republic. There is no alternative for the people of Iraq. The task of rising up is the people's. The nations should not sit quiet hoping to be rescued by other people from other countries. It is the nations which nourish the seed of liberation. None of the countries of the world helped the Iranian people in doing away with that corrupt regime. Now, many of them even tried to undermine the liberation struggles of our people here, despite all that, just because our nation had killed it, it succeeded in doing it. You cannot make a whole nation acquiesce to something under coercion. You cannot impose anything on a nation against the will of that nation. The people of Iraq should not sit back expecting some invisible hand to reach from outside and save them. The Muslim people of Iraq, who are followers of the Holy Quran, and who abhor despotism and brutish acts should resort to Islam and the Iraqis themselves should rise up to liberate themselves. No spirit of duality is separating our two nations, nor is there any such divisive spirit between our people and any other Muslim people. The one billion Muslims of the world are in fact one and a single nation which have vast resources but which, due to the deviation of the majority of their government, are under the pressure of big satanic powers and, as a result, these giant resources of the Muslims are going down the throats of the big powers. It is the task of the nations to rise up with a view to liberation themselves from the hands of the big powers. Had the Iranian nation chosen to sit still looking for an invisible hand to liberate it from outside, it would have forever remained under the same despotic rule and the crude Pahlavi regime would have continued to rule here to its end. But this nation did not sit

still looking forward to getting a hand from abroad, and despite the fact that our people were not armed when they all rose up and shouted in our city streets that they did not hold that regime to be legitimate, when they shouted and denounced that regime in our city streets-our men, our women, our children, our youngsters, and our elders - then none of the world's big powers was capable of stopping that wave. The internal powers, too, turned their back on him and joined the rest of the nation.

And so will the Armed Forces of Iraq. Once the Muslims in Iraq should stand to revolt, the personnel of the Armed Forces in that country are sure to join them and will thereby pull out roots of corruption from their country. Recently I read a report as dispatched by one of the world's news agencies, in which the Iraqi government had been quoted as having said, "We have always been Muslims, and we attest to the unity of God and the prophetic mission of Prophet Mohammad, and so we are Muslims. Why should you refer to us as being unbelievers (in God)?" But I say to them that long before we said anything about your being so, you had been declared as being such by such personalities as Ayatollah Hakim (may God grant him bliss). No doubt the people of Iraq are Muslims but it is the people in the Ba'athist Party who are not. It is the people in this party who, by the consensus of that nation, are recognised as being unbelievers. His (Saddam's) vows of attachment to the Muslims aptly reminds one of similar claims of Mohammad Reza. If it should come to comparing the two, I would think Mohammad Reza was inwardly a Muslim though paradoxically one worse than a disbeliever, whereas with Saddam I do not think in his soul he has any tendency at all to Islam. This man who claims to be Muslim has risen against Islam in Iran and what he is doing in our country are tokens of his disbelief.

Our people have committed no crime except that they want to exercise absolute rights over their resources and have independence. They want to keep this Islamic government. They voted for the establishment of an Islamic Republic and gave shape to it here. It has been precisely for this same reason that every since then our nation has been constantly vexed by the superpowers. Saddam has warned us that he will cause even more devastation in our country unless we agree to do what he expects of us. (To Saddam): You have already done whatever you have been able to and you will do whatever you can. If you have done this much thus far, it is not because you have checked yourself from doing more but rather because you simply were not capable of having ruined more. If any day you were to get the power and the might you would kill all of the Muslims of Iran. But you are only busying yourself with a vain thought. You simply thought that if you invaded Iran well, then you would be dealing with a weak and run-down army and an indifferent nation here, whereas our Armed Forces proved to you that the facts were far different than what you and the big powers had thought them to be. As soon as you invaded our territories our Armed Forces barred your further advance and ever since that time you did not manage to come forward even another step.

If our people thought of the war as did you and your own army, had our Armed Forces intended to invade your territories at the cost of killing innocent people, innocent men, women and children, they could have long since been there. Today you see that Iraq does not any longer have people capable of doing much in the war whereas here we have Armed Forces whose personnel are quite devoted to Islam. We have such an Air Force whose pilots can penetrate deep into Iraqi territory and who strafe enemy military positions at the farthest point within Iraq close to the Jordanian border. They do not drop a single bomb on any residential spot in Iraq. Here is a Muslim nation and Armed Forces composed of Muslim people. But the person who shouts slogans pretending to be concerned

about the Muslims, but who makes them homeless just because they are Muslims cannot be recognised as being Muslim himself. There have been a great many people even in the early days of Islam who have claimed to be Muslims but who in fact were hypocrites.

I pray to God Almighty to wake up the Muslims as well as the people of Iraq, to do away with such seeds of corruption who commit acts of massacre under the pretext of Islam and who have killed such esteemed scholars of Islam as Seyyed Mohammad Bagher Sadr and I hope, more and more people will read his books and that the Blessed and Supreme Lord will unite him into reunion with his great ancestors and he will reunite his sister with her grandmother. I hope the Muslim people of the world will soon rise up to cut off the hands of the big powers from their countries.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM RECEIVES FRONTIERSMEN AND TRIBESMEN

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, yesterday in the Hosseiniyeh of Jamaran received a group of Iranian frontiersmen from Maku along with another group of Bakhtiari tribesmen from Masjed-e Soleiman, some members of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards corps in charge of Evin Prison in Tehran. The following is a translation from the text of the Imam's speech to the visiting groups:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL.

I wish to welcome you people who have come here from distant border areas in the country and who have been, and who are, serving Islam and will continue to do so in the future. Today, as you know, Iran is being transgressed by foreign armies as well as by internal conspiracies, but amid this situation the care shown by these great people, and the presence in the scene of the men and women of this Islamic nation, are sources of hope. Your continued presence in the social arena makes one feel assured that, neither are any internal intrigues capable of carrying out their satanic plots nor is invasion from outside likely to harm this nation. Here is a nation of people who have made this country secure against all losses by their presence in the scenes of struggle from the start of the Islamic Revolution and who will continue to do so in the future.

Those who have been spreading this rumor abroad that the people have lost their original interest in Islam that they manifested during the Islamic Revolution, or those who have claimed that the people have recently been turning their backs on the Islamic Republic, would be better advised to come to the scene and see with their own eyes the people's enthusiasm and their attachment to Islam at a degree by no means less than it was during the peak of the Islamic Republic, would be better advised to come to the scene and see with their own eyes the people's enthusiasm and their attachment to Islam at a degree by no means less than it was during the peak of the Islamic Revolution. This is something which has been manifest among our men, our women, and equally among the people from all parts of the country, except perhaps, for a bunch of rotten roots or throw-backs to the past regime, or the hirelings of Iraq or of the West and East, who are not worthy of attention. The entirety of the Muslim nation, as well as the religious

minorities, still are keeping alive the enthusiasm and the zeal they had developed in themselves during the Revolution. Who 'compelled' you to come here today from the most remote parts of our border areas? Who obliged you to come here and under what coercion to declare that today you have the same allegiance to Islam as you had during the Revolution? Were you impelled to come here by any motivation other than your devotion to Islam and your faith in it? Could they, during the past regime, even under coercion, bring so many people together in rallies and meetings as we see today? Whoever made you come here from such far-away points in order to declare again your pledge of allegiance to Islam? Who has made you declare to the people your presence in the scene, in the battle-scenes and behind the battle-scenes?

Have you been impelled by any drive other than by the Islamic blood and patriotism which is manifest in all of you? (Cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar' rise from among the audience). You people, you men, you youngsters and oldsters, as well as you ladies and children, should perpetuate your presence in the scene and thwart the conspiracies of our enemies as you succeeded in cutting off the hands of the big powers.

Today you are being aggressed against by various means and mainly by hostile propaganda and nationwide conspiracies. This is an invasion against the whole nation. But by your rallies and by your unity you will foil the plots of the conspirators and of the foreign powers who have long been sharpening their claws and waiting for wealth. I am hopeful that God will make you and us and the entire nation successful and that He will give Islam its ideal shape here as He wills. This will not be possible without the presence in the scene of our entire nation or without their vigilance over what is happening here or without admonishing or even dismissing those whose conduct should swerve from Islamic principles.

I pray to the Blessed and Supreme Lord for the success of all of you and of the entire nation and the oppressed masses. I also thank you gentlemen for having taken the trouble of coming here from remote places in the country and will pray for your prosperity in this world and your salvation in the Hereafter.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM KHOMEINI'S ARMED FORCES DAY ADDRESS

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini, on April 16, 1981, praised the efforts of the rank and file of the Armed Forces on the occasion of Armed Forces Day and urged them to observe discipline and hierarchy throughout the Armed Forces. The following is a translation from the text of the Imam's speech on the occasion:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I congratulate the Iranian nation and our Armed Forces on the occasion of the 29th of Farvardin (April 18th), a special day for the brave and patriotic army of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

This year's congratulations for the rank and file of our Armed Forces and for the nation excel those of previous years, since our Armed Forces, by much self-sacrifice and great struggles have rid this nation from the army of the demons who invaded our country upon getting support from the two superpowers and other dependent powers, while our Armed Forces have

been standing against the invading forces like a stalwart rampart. This year's Armed Forces Day is one of pride for the whole nation. It is an honorable day for the Armed Forces and for all the law enforcement branches. Our congratulations to the Armed Forces and to the nation are not just confined to words and expressions. The heartfelt support of the nation to the Armed Forces is a fact which is manifest in the battlefields. The army of the devil and the followers of Saddam, too, are already feeling it. The frequent blows upon the enemy troops by our Armed Forces are all testimony to this reality and the world has already realised and recorded the facts, so let the mercenary media write and publish whatever they want to! Let them write as much as they can think up in their wretched minds. Let the external as well as internal devils devise any intrigue for division among our Armed Forces and thereby show their weakness!

Today the whole of our beloved Armed Forces are fighting against the atheist criminals with assurance and firm hearts filled with faith and devotion, and they will continue to do so until such time as the foundations of unbelief have been totally ruined and the rights of the masses and the oppressed and wronged people have been secured. May the Supreme Lord be their Supporter and Helper! I beg permission to remind our Armed Forces of certain points, although I might already have discussed them on earlier occasions:

1. This year, which has been duly called the Year of the Rule of Law, makes it incumbent on the rank and file of our Armed Forces to observe the chain of command and hierarchy within the Armed Forces, so that our Armed Forces will be all the more consolidated. Any violation of this principle will be a transgression against the law, and I hope that our Armed Forces will be capable of making our forces invulnerable in a spirit of brotherhood insofar as possible by eliminating violence.

2. Our Army commanders and other personnel of our Armed Forces must be assured that their acts of self-sacrifice are always being performed before God Almighty and before the nation and that they would be better advised not to heed the divisive claptrap of certain groups of deviates and pseudo-factions. Our Armed Forces should remember any attempt to instill a spirit of frustration and disappointment among the masses is part of the diabolical schemes of our enemies, and that it is an Islamic duty for our people to appreciate the struggles of our Armed Forces: a duty which is not being overlooked by our nation. The more you succeed in defeating the enemy, the more will the nation acclaim you and the more hope will be that the Supreme Lord will be your supporter and that the nation will be your loyal aid.

3. I implore the Lord's Blessings for our precious martyrs of the Armed Forces, and implore good health for our defenders of Islam and our crippled and limbless people. I also express my congratulations as well as my condolences to their families. The dear families of our martyrs should remember that the whole nation shares with them the agony which has afflicted them. I lost many a youth and sons whom I loved and whom were our pride and you, too, sent to the Kingdom of the Lord's Mercy your patriotic youth who were your honor. May the Lord be your refuge and your Aid! Once again I glorify this day and pray to God Almighty for the good health and prosperity of you of the youth of this country.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM KHOMEINI ADDRESSES AIR FORCE PILOTS

The Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Imam Khomeini, on April 21, 1981, received a group of pilots of the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran at his residence in Tehran. The following is a translation of the text of his speech:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I would like to praise you for your recent patriotic and brave act (reference to April 4th air raid on Iraqi air force bases), and would also like to praise you for having been the first group (in the Armed Forces) to have joined the nation in its struggle during the Revolution, and I hope you will remain ever determined in keeping your pledge of solidarity with the nation. I would like to say only a few words to you on this occasion. You know that what is of utmost importance for the country and for the Armed Forces is unity of purpose and expression among the people, and solidarity among the Armed Forces.

Should, God forbid, any division occur within the Armed Forces due to poisonous propaganda aimed at corrupt ends, this will entail God's turning away from us and consequently the recurring of the same old agonies which for long afflicted this nation. Therefore it is the responsibility of the whole nation to adhere to one undivided motto and to maintain their unity of expression throughout future days without heeding the alluring words of the corrupt people who themselves are being instigated by the superpowers. And if they should detect corrupt people in their circles intent on doing divisive acts, they should first admonish them, and if they should show defiance, you people should report them to your commanders so that disciplinary action may be taken against them lest this consolidation and solidarity which already exists among the masses might be disrupted.

Our prime attention should be focused on God and on the belief that whatever we have, we have been given by Him, and that we must at all times think of Him, and remember that He has willed victory for us but that if, God forbid, any time we should be defeated as a result of our swerving from the Right Path, we shall be responsible for our failure. I would like you my dear brothers to remember at all times that Islam is for all of us as well as for the oppressed masses to which you, too, belong: you are people who have been underestimated and belittled by the big powers, and thanks be to God, you proved the falsehood of their fancies.

I hope that by your steady perseverance and your intuition and initiative, you will succeed in carrying out all that you must and that you will once again prove to our enemies that by our trust in God this nation is destined eventually to triumph. I hope the Blessed and Supreme Lord will give you fresh triumphs each and every day. Greetings to you and to all combatants who fight in the Path of God and God's Mercy be on the martyrs whom you, and others, dedicated to the Lord. May you remain in good health for all time, Inshallah.

IMAM KHOMEINI ADDRESSES EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATORS

On April 23, 1981, the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khomeini, received a group of members of the Deputy Directors of the Ministry of Education at his residence in Tehran. The following is a translation of the text of his speech:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

You gentlemen are fully aware of what was the problem with our educational system, what we now have and what needs to be done in the future. You know that we had in the past and, as people directly in contact with educational affairs, you know better than I, and since in the past you were directly involved in the task you have a tangible knowledge of the problems of the past years. But luckily, later on the people joined in common cause and did away with the principal bandit, which was the United States. And now we are tackling a series of problems which are only typical of any post-revolution era, and which cannot be tolerated by a nation which wants to live freely and independently, since no revolution is immune to its ensuing problems. There is no revolution without problems following it. Whatever problems we have had so far have been the indirect aftermath of the Revolution. There are many countries which experienced revolutions and which have long since the culmination of their revolutions continued to be entangled with post-revolution problems: the Soviet Union, which has endured more than 60 years from its Revolution, and a number of other countries with more recent histories of revolution still have problems. If we have comparatively fewer problems here than others do in their own countries, it is because we are a Muslim people. What we have here has not been a revolution in the form of one government toppling another government and taking its place as the new ruling government. The revolution here has been one promoted by Muslims and conceived in Islam. The nation witnessed many problems in the past and it saw that Islam was being threatened. They stood up - and thanks be to God - they accomplished what they meant to. The main thing here has been that here is a country of Muslims and that the whole of our masses, men and women, have shown self-sacrifice and they will continue to do so in the future. But in addition to the problems, which are the natural accompaniments of revolutions in every country, we have also had the problem of the war. This is because our country is in many ways different from other countries, in that our country is a land which is coveted by all of the big powers for both our strategic situations and for our resources. That is why our country has been faced with extra problems since the culmination of the Revolution, and the internal agents who are associated with the big powers are not likely to leave us alone soon. But once again we will put up with everything because we have stood up for Islam and we will tolerate every hardship for the sake of Islam.

We did away with the corrupt foundation. You annihilated a foundation which manifested itself in the form of the person of Mohammad Reza and his government which enjoyed the support of all the big powers. You wiped out that system. What we have here today are the corrupt offshoots which are likely to grow after any revolution and which should be tolerated, tolerated for the sake of God, as did our Prophet Mohammad, may peace be upon him.

Prophet Mohammad, may peace be upon him, put up with so much hardship

in Mecca only to experience worse hardships in Medina. After he arrived in Medina from Mecca he and his men were subjected to so much hardship as have been unprecedented among us here. For a period of three years Prophet Mohammad, may peace be upon him, lived under a full-scale economic blockade during which he and his men could hardly find anything to eat, and at which time he had to procure everything from distant cities. Luckily, so far, we have not experienced any hardship like that in Iran. We should copy the example of Prophet Mohammad, may peace be upon him. We, who consider ourselves as being the Ummah of Prophet Mohammad, may peace be upon him, and followers of the Inerrant Imams, should take note of whatever hardship they tolerated throughout their lifetimes for the sake of Islam.

Things turned worse for Imam Ali, may peace be upon him, during his years of rule as Caliph of the Muslims. At that time everything for him turned out to be worse than it had been during the life of the Prophet Mohammad, may peace be upon him, and worse than it had been in the days he participated in the holy wars against the unbelievers. During his years as Caliph of the Muslims, he was given only little help from others, and despite that the Imam showed perseverance and propagated Islam, and did all of our other Imams. They passed the whole of their lives either in prisons, or in exile, or as people besieged by unbelievers. But they tolerated all that as though with ease because they were doing it for Islam. And we, too, have the same proposition. We, too, look at Islam as an end for which we should be ready to sacrifice ourselves so that it may be realised.

I am hopeful that with the intellectual aid of you people and with your trust in the Lord - the source of Sublime Power in man - we will be capable of eliminating all problems, and I am confident that you, together with your brethren in faith, will solve Iran's problems. I give you the pledge of an eventual victory, and pray to God Almighty to make you successful and victorious.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

IMAM'S MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION OF WOMEN'S DAY

Imam Khomeini's message on the occasion of Women's Day, April 26, 1981 is as follows:

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE COMPASSIONATE, THE MERCIFUL

I congratulate the honorable Iranian nation, and especially our respected women on this all blissful birthday of the pure, honest Fatima Zahra, may peace be upon her, which is the loftiest day chosen for designating Women's Day. This blessed birth occurred in a time and place when women were not deemed human beings. Her mere existence debased here family vis-a-vis various tribes of the people of the times of ignorance. The exalted Prophet of Islam took women out of this quagmire of ignorance and saved them from this corrupt and horrid environment, and Islam's history bears witness to the unlimited respect of the Messenger of God for these honorable persons, meant only to show that women enjoy a special rank in society which is not less than a man's, if not greater. Hence this day, is the day of women's existence and the founding of their pride and prominent role and efforts during the

more than 50 years of foreign plotters and their shameless lackeys - they corrupt poets or paid writers and the mass media. And they attested to the fact that invaluable Muslim women do not swerve from the Right Path and are not vulnerable to these sinister conspiracies of the west and the west-aminated people. Albeit in the course of the usurper Pahlavi monarchy and as a result of its propaganda yet a handful of affluent taghooti women and their SAVAK lackeys and their staunch servants were entrapped, still the rest of the women - these millions of dedicated women who form the pillars of our nation - were not deceived and showed incredible fortitude before God and the people in these 50 black years. These women, once and for all, put an end to the fancy of those who prostrate towards the west, now and then. May the Islamic movement of the lofty women of Iran be victorious and proud.

May all this gigantic mass be proud who brought the movement to victory with their invaluable and gallant presence in the scenes, defending the Islamic nation and the Holy Qur'an, and who are now active at the fronts, and behind the fronts, ready to offer their lives.

May God's Mercy and Blessings be upon those mothers who committed their mighty youth to the fields of defending Truth and take immense pride in their splendid martyrdom.

May those puppets and dolls be confounded who are attached to a degrading animal life in the shameful palaces in Iran and abroad and think nothing but creating corruption. May the criminal tongues and hands be stayed who attempt to topple the Islamic Republic with their sayings and writings, and who seek to drive our beloved Iran towards the East or the West.

Endless greetings to the believing and committed women who have taken part in the upbringing of children, the education of the illiterate and the teaching of social sciences and our rich Qur'anic culture.

God's Blessings be upon those women who have attained the high level of martyrdom in defending this Revolution and nation, and those who are serving the crippled and the ill in the hospitals and clinics and those who have proudly give up their beloved youth. May Women's Day be a joyous occasion for all the dedicated women of all the Islamic lands. We hope that women will awaken from the artificial ignorance and sleep imposed upon them by the plunderers and all hand-in-hand would assist the deceived and guide other women to their lofty position.

We hope that women in other Islamic countries will learn from the miraculous transformation of the women of Iran brought about by the Islamic Revolution and thus strive to correct their societies, and to bring their countries freedom and independence.

May God's Blessings and Grace be upon the excellent women of Islam and our beloved Iran.

May Peace be upon the pious servants of God, and believers - women and men.

IMAM KHOMEINI RECEIVES MEMBERS OF TEACHERS ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION

The leader of the Islamic Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic, Imam Khomeini, On April 27, 1981 received members of the Islamic Association of Teachers in the Province of Mazandaran, the staff of the Helicopter and Aircraft Services of Iran, Directors General of the Ministry of Post, Telephone and Telegraph in ehra

and a group of people from Larijan at Hosseiniyeh Jamaran in Tehran. The following is a translation from the text of the Imam's speech to the group of the visiting personalities:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful:

This Revolution is distinguished by its characteristics which have made it unique. This Revolution has been different from other revolutions in the world in that few revolutions in the world have had the total support of the nation, in reality, having rather been promoted either by a ruling party or have come about in the form of one government having swept aside another government and taken its place as the ruling government.

The Islamic Revolution in Iran is in no way comparable to the coups d'etat which normally occur here and there throughout the world, nor is it like traditional revolutions in the world. It is a totally peculiar Revolution: one originating from the hearts of the nation, and embodied in the call of 'Allah-o-Akbar' (God is the Greatest), and other calling slogans calling for the establishment of the Islamic Republic. The two peculiarities of the Islamic Revolution, namely the omnipresence in the arena of the masses and the oneness and unity of purpose and expression - an Islamic goal - made the people maintain their surveillance in the conduct of their affairs, after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution. Once the people defeated the satanic powers here which were supported by all (foreign) powers they did not withdraw from the scene on the assumption that, 'well, we have done away with a regime, so let others come and administer the rest of our affairs'. No... They, the people, were present everywhere and all organs were active here and there. The spirit of the Revolution was bubbling up from the hearts of the nation. These Islamic associations throughout the country did not come into being upon a formal proposal of one or more authorised persons for forming them, but in reality were a spontaneous generation. Wherever there were people, they formed Islamic Associations for themselves.

You people who are here from the Islamic Associations in the Province of Mazandaran, are representatives of a much larger society throughout the country, and hope you will be successful in fulfilling your aims. Whatever the nation achieved and accomplished after the Revolution, it did because it looked with a moral attachment upon the Islamic Revolution, and as distinct from a revolution framed by the west or east, or by just one of the parties, or groups. This has been a revolution by the nation itself, they have the same moral attachment to this Revolution as they have to Islam. This spirit and attitude prompted the nation to maintain its active presence in the scenes rather than keeping itself aloof or remaining indifferent. They did not leave the scene to attend to their own business after its culmination. They did not do any such thing. They are still present in the scene and it is their presence in the scene which makes the Revolution immune to hazards. Had this Revolution been inspired and engineered by any Party, or a group and the people not been present in the scene it would not have lasted to this day, or at most they would have had to uphold it with the force of bayonets. Other people in other parts of the world who have promoted revolutions have had to keep it up later with the force of bayonets; whereas Iran has upheld and perpetuated its revolution by the struggle of its devoted people, and even today it is our devout people who are promoting this Revolution.

The spontaneous generation of Islamic Associations throughout the country after the triumph of the Revolution, as well as the creation of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps and the Reconstruction Jihad (Jihad-e Sazandegi), and the (Islamic Revolutionary) Committees and similar institutions all bear witness to the fact that the people now look upon the country as one truly belonging to themselves. It is no longer like it was during the past regime. At that time our people would scoff at such thoughts uttering such familiar statements of indifference as, 'whom must we work for?' the United States? They are taking away whatever we have. They have advisors and plunderers in all our organs. Why should we work for others for the foreigners- to reap the fruits of our toiling?

That was the reason why at that time our people were either indifferent or opposers, who impeded and blocked the path of work to be done and did so in defiance of usurper governments. But today the table has turned around. You see here we have

is government of the people. If you look carefully into the background of our present government Ministers you will realise there is none among them who is or lives like the Government Ministers typical of the past taghuti regime. Today they (the government Ministers) represent profiles from among the masses. Today the post of ministership for the government, does not provide those monarchical estates and chattels which were typical of the past monarchy. Some days ago I chanced to look over the pages of a magazine printed during the past regime, and in it I saw a group of the then Cabinet Ministers each of whom looked like a monarch ruling in his own fiodom.

They had made their own qualifying criteria for the ministerial posts. They were all traitors to the nation or were appointed from among the affluent classes of the people living uptown. It had long since become a tradition here that people who had risen from among the masses could not qualify for the ministerial posts. They had to belong to the 'elite' society and to what they described as the 'higher class': people living in large villas, rich and pompous with dependent supporters. If somebody did not meet this description he would not qualify for a ministerial position at that time. The instances of exception to this rule were too few and there were any it was simply contrived for fooling the people. But today when you look carefully at the government administrators you notice that they are from the people.

Our president today is the son of Banisadr Hamedani: a mullahin Hamedan. And he has none of the pomp of dignity prevalent among them. He is a man from the people. And so is our Prime Minister who was subjected to much torture during the past regime. He, too, is a man from the nation and so are other personalities in the government. Today we cannot speak of the government versus the people, for there is a government some of whose Ministers were appointed by the people. The people look at the government as being from themselves, whereas during the past regime the people felt alienated from the government, and so did the government ministers of that time, considering themselves superior to the men in the street. When they appeared among the people they would ride in luxury cars and coaches flanked by their bodyguards. They looked down at the people, and the people too, judged them as being oppressors and plunderers. But today our government organs do not look down on or oppress our people. Our government administrators say that in effect it is the people in the street who are members of their Cabinet. And truly it is so. The people themselves are now present in the scene. They do not look at the government administrators as being a group of people in any way superior to them, nor do our government Ministers think of themselves as excelling other people. They go among the circles of ordinary people and hold talks with them.

This is one of the peculiarities which attests to the popularity of this revolution. It is a characteristic which proves that this Revolution has not been designed and promoted by any party or brought about by a coup. It has not been the result of the triumph of a contending government over its predecessor. It was the people, and the masses who got together, who did away with one system and re-instated in its place another system. From the first day of the triumph of the Revolution our people got together and formed (Islamic Revolutionary) Committees. Even from the first day of the culmination of the Revolution many of our youth got together and formed the Islamic Revolutionary Guards for the purpose of safeguarding the Revolution and enforcing law and order in our city streets and protecting our citizens in their houses. They did so at the instance of nobody. They entered the scene since they believed that the Revolution belonged to them, and so did you. You gentlemen who have organised Islamic Associations throughout the country have not done this at the order of any person from above. You felt the need for it and therefore you stepped forward to form your associations. You felt the need for it, as our Islamic Revolutionary Guards felt the need for safeguarding the Revolution and for enforcing peace and order in the country. But you and other people associated with the Islamic Associations throughout the country should always keep vigil against the plots aimed at the associations, for there are people who wish to undermine our Islamic Associations under various guises. They are intent on corrupting your Islamic associations. You must therefore look into the past and the background of the people who apply for membership in your associations. Find out for yourselves what any

prospective member was during the past regime. Find out whether or not he was a member of the SAVAK (Secret Police of the ex-shah) during the past regime and whether he is just wearing a long beard and fiddling with a rosary just to fool you. Find out about his family background and where and how he was educated, and what was his way of thinking in the past.

There are many people today who claim to have been against the past regime and the past system but they are people who were servants to that regime and are even today counting down for the return of the good old days as they had before. They cherished such foolish thoughts in their minds and thus make an attempt to infiltrate such organisations (Islamic Associations)... Our Islamic Associations should be centres for devout people : people who were Muslims before the Revolution and whose families were such at that time. You shouldn't accept just anybody for membership who should feign revolutionary ideas or an attachment to Islam. You should exercise caution so you will not be made fools of, and lest the hypocrites might mar the face of Islam to the world. This is religious task for all of you. It is a religious task for all revolutionary organs such as the Reconstruction Jihad, the Committees, the Islamic Associations as well as for all organs which are entrusted with the task of serving this nation... The past records of people are significant guide lights especially when it comes to their membership in the Islamic Associations. Therefore you should screen the past records of applications with the utmost scruple, and prevent the membership of unqualified candidates in your associations, not that they should be cast away from the society. No... There are other things which they can do but they may not fit into the Islamic Associations for reasons of their background and beliefs.

Once you have formed an Islamic Association you have in fact assumed a grave responsibility. Once a person affirms being a Muslim, he has assumed a commitment before God. It is a covenant with the Blessed and Supreme Lord. A covenant binding him to have faith in Islam and to enact its decrees. You should exercise surveillance, especially over the younger and the less experienced members of your associations lest they might once do a thing, out of ignorance, to the detriment of Islam.

You who are members of the Islamic Association of Teachers have the responsibility of guiding the teachers, just as members of the Islamic Association in the Armed Forces have the responsibility of guiding others and propagating word of God, but they should not interfere in military concerns. And I assure you and the whole nation of Iran that as long as you have faith in Islam, and as long as you are present in the scene, you will eventually triumph.

Luckily in the recent days we have achieved significant victories in the warfronts, and you, as people behind the fronts, must endeavour to encourage and enhearten your brothers in the battlefronts at all times and should continue your presence in the scenes as you already have done. I hope the Blessed and Supreme Lord will make you, and all of us and the entire nation successful in remaining loyal to Islam and in enacting its rules.

May the Peace and the Mercy of God and His Blessings be upon you.

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**HIGHLIGHTS OF
IMAM KHOMEINI'S
SPEECHS (Nov 5, 80 - Apr 28, 81)**

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The best analysis of the most-discussed event of our time can be found only in the speeches and messages of Imam Khomeini who in fact has led the events in their Islamic Path.

This book is a selection of Imam Khomeini's speeches and messages during the past five months addressed to laymen and different organisations as well as high officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran on various issues and circumstances.

This book clearly explains the philosophical, psychological and socio-economic dimensions of the Islamic Revolution not only in theory, but in practice.

Imam Khomeini's speeches are simple enough for a layman to understand and deep enough to take the intellectual to the horizons of logic and truth. This book is able to lead the oppressed people in their struggle for meaning and for freedom of their "selves" from the suffering of the human race due to domination of capitalism and communism.

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